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ABSTRACT

The delivery of services to children of minority groups is hampered by the lack of recognition of ethnic factors. Although often overlooked, ethnicity is a key component in all phases of child welfare, including provision of homemakers, foster family care, institutional placements, and adoption. The study reported here is exploratory research with several preliminary goals. These are: to identify the major issues of concern to members of ethnic minority groups with regard to service delivery; to review proposals which move in the direction of a multi-ethnic service system; to develop a typology defining commonalities in needs among ethnic groups; and, to propose standards for service delivery where factors of ethnicity are involved. The study is concerned with children of five minority groups: American Indians, Asian Americans, Blacks, Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans. As a first phase of the research, the literature of the past ten years in professional journals, books, and unpublished papers was reviewed. Part one of this paper refers to the four major concerns discussed in the literature, with a section on each. These are: elimination of myths; lack of recognition of cultural differences, lack of appreciation of bilingualism; and, threat to group survival. Part two comprises three sections on proposals for change, including re-education and retraining, programming for cultural content, and changes in the direction of a multiethnic service system. (Author/JM)

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IDENTIFICATION OF ETHNIC ISSUES IN CHILD WELFARE: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Shirley Jenkins and Barbara Morrison

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INTRODUCTION

The delivery of services to children of minority groups is hampered by the lack of recognition of ethnic factors. Although often overlooked, ethnicity is a key component in all phases of child welfare, including provision of homemakers, foster family care, institutional placements, and adoption. The study, Ethnic Factors in Child Welfare, being conducted at the Columbia University School of Social Work, and supported by the Children's Bureau, Office of Child Development, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, is an exploratory research with several preliminary goals. These are: (1) to identify the major issues of concern to members of ethnic minority groups with regard to service delivery; (2) to review proposals which move in the direction of a multi-ethnic service system; (3) to develop a typology defining commonalities in needs among ethnic groups; and (4) to propose standards for service delivery where factors of ethnicity are involved. The study is concerned with children of five minority groups: American Indians, Asian Americans, Blacks, Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans.

As a first phase of the research, the literature of the past ten years in professional journals, books, and unpublished papers was reviewed. The study document, Ethnicity and Child Welfare: An Annotated Bibliography, represents the first publication of the research project. Based on those references, the present paper and second study document, Identification of Ethnic Issues in Child Welfare: A Review of the Literature, was prepared. This draws heavily on the bibliographic references cited in the companion document, but it is not organized in terms of separate ethnic groups but rather in terms of the major issues which have been identified. Part I of the present paper refers to the four major concerns discussed in the literature, with a section on each. These are: (1) elimination of myths; (2) lack of recognition of cultural differences; (3) lack of appreciation of bilingualism; and (4) threat to group survival. Part II comprises three sections on proposals for change, including (1) re-education and retraining; (2) programming for cultural content; and (3) changes in the direction of a multiethnic service system.

Coverage for the annotated bibliography, as well as for the accompanying paper on issues, was based on materials published from 1963 through 1973. The references were from approximately 40 books and monographs,

25 professional journals whose issues were reviewed for ten years, and about 25 unpublished papers, documents, reports, newspaper stories, and conference proceedings. The main criterion for the inclusion of a reference was whether it had relevance for the study. Emphasis was on professional materials with information that was reliable, well-documented, and knowledgeable. Where issues had not yet been raised in professional journals in documented form, however, more informal sources were tapped. Particular concern was given to inclusion of material where the authorship was by members of each of the minority groups in the study, although no relevant item was excluded because the author was not of the group. The present paper incorporates extensive quotations from these documents and sources, and these references become the data base for analysis. Thus an empirical approach has been used, with content as data. The organization of materials followed the analysis of the references, rather than being a preconceived format in which references were sought to fit each of the categories.

Ethnic Group: Definitions and Demographic Variables

Before discussing the study findings, it may be useful to define the key term, "ethnic group." Ethnicity is not a precise concept, but nonetheless it is a viable one. There is a substantial literature on ethnicity,

and although there may be disagreement on some of the components of the definition, there is general agreement on the core of meaning of the concept. Weber defines ethnic group as "a collectivity based on an assumption of common origin, real or imaginary."[1] Another definition is that of Schermerhorn, who defines it as:

> a collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements....A necessary accompaniment is some consciousness of kind among members of the group....[2]

Among these symbolic elements, Schermerhorn refers to physical contiguity, language or dialect, religion, phenotypical features, kinship patterns, and nationality, or any combination of these.

In describing ethnic patterns, it is apparent that different configurations exist depending on the situation. Religion may be critical for defining certain groups, national origin for others, language for others. Typically it is a combination of factors, and differences often only become explicit at points of culture conflict.

Discussion of needs of members of minority groups often takes place without reference to the actual facts about the population which is under study. How large are these groups; where are they located; and what particular demographic characteristics need to be considered

as the basis for discussion? The five groups in the study comprise a total of under 31 million persons, or approximately 15 percent of the population of the United States, according to the 1970 Census. Size and distribution are included in Table 1.

Table 1

Population Statistics

Ethnic Group	Total United States
Black Americans	22,539,362
Mexican Americans	4,532,552
Puerto Ricans	1,429,664
Asian Americans	1,190,737
Japanese	586,675
Chinese	433,469
Filipino	336,823
Hawaiian	98,836
Korean	70,598
American Indians	760,572
TOTAL	30,452,887

Source: United States Census, United States Summary, Detailed Characteristics, Table 190, "Persons of Races Other Than White and Persons of Spanish Heritage, by Nativity, Sex, and Age: 1970," 1-593-5, and United States Census, Supplementary Report of 1970 Census of Population, "Persons of Spanish Ancestry," PC-(SI)-30, February 1973, Table 1, "Persons of Spanish Origin for Regions, Divisions, and States: 1970," 1.

The complexities of the ethnic concept are such that not only is precise definition not possible, neither is a precise count. The Census data reflect a variety of underlying criteria, such as race, nativity, ancestry and heritage. Sometimes there is a generational criterion, sometimes not. The problem of definitions and inclusions needs to be studied for itself, but the absense of precision should not paralyze work in this area. For the purposes of the present review, this research follows the generally utilized references to population groupings in the literature. At a later phase in the research, questions of identity and criteria will be examined.

Black Americans comprise the largest ethnic group in the study; they are also a relatively young population with a median age of 22.5 years. Geographically there has been substantial movement of Blacks to urban areas, but 53 percent remain in the South, 19 percent in the Northeast, and 20 percent in the North Central regions. The next largest group, the Mexican Americans, incorporate several cultures, including Spanish and Indian. In geographic terms, 53 percent of Mexican Americans are in the West and 37 percent in the South. The Puerto Rican population is very highly concentrated in the Northeast, with 81 percent living in that region, primarily in New York City. Unique to their situation is the extensive move-

ment of people between the Islands and the Mainland, so that there is a strong reinforcement of the Spanish culture. The Asian Americans are a diverse group, with Japanese Americans having the largest concentration, and Chinese Americans being next in size. They are a relatively older population when compared with the other groups in the study, in particular the Japanese group, which has a median age of 32.4 years. Eight-two percent of Asian Americans live in the West, principally in California. American Indians are the smallest group in the study, but they are also the most heterogenous group. In the 1970 Census, Indians reported over 130 tribal affiliations. The five largest tribal groups are the Navajos, with 96,743; Cherokee, 66,150; Sioux, 47,825; Chippewa, 41,946; Pueblo, 30,971. The smallest reporting group of all Indians is the Klikitat tribe with 21 members. This is a young population, with a median age of 20.5 years. Forty-nine percent of all American Indians live in the West, 25 percent in the South. Nearly half of all Indians live in urban areas, and only 28 percent still live on reservations. Language use reflects living locale. It is reported that 32 percent of the American Indians in urban areas said that their native language is their mother tongue, wheras 58 percent of those on reservations stated their native language was

their mother tongue. This figure rose to 72 percent for Indians who were 65 years and over.

These brief notes on size and location of the population of ethnic minorities give some focus to the groups under study.[3/] Although they represent only 15 percent of the total population in the United States, they constitute a higher proportionate population of those in need of services. This is true because of the well-documented special needs of minority people.

The primary socially handicapping condition affecting children is poverty, and poverty is far more prevalent among minority than other children. In Profiles of Children, prepared for the White House Conference on Children in 1970, the data show that only 17 percent of White families had incomes below $6,000, but this was true of 50 percent of Black families. For Indians living on reservations, 80 percent of families were below the poverty level. Such references could be multiplied many times over for all of the groups under consideration in the study.[4/]

Not only is poverty an important problem facing the minority child, but for many the mental health problems are severe and needing attention. The Committee on Children of Minority Groups, which was established by the Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children, has made a strong statement of the effect on children of both

poverty and racism. It documents with extensive data the special needs for mental health services for children of minority groups.[5/]

Granted the special needs occasioned by low incomes, and the exacerbation of these needs because of racism and limited opportunities, it is indeed ironic that barriers are put in the way of service delivery because of lack of recognition of ethnic patterns— the very factors that contribute to the need for services. The review of literature will indicate major concerns and proposals for change.

FOOTNOTES FOR INTRODUCTION

1/ Max Weber, "The Ethnic Group," in Talcott Parsons, et. al., Theories of Society, Vol. 1, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1961), p. 305.

2/ R.A. Schermerhorn, Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research, (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 12.

3/ Demographic data have been taken from the following sources: United States Census, United States Summary, Detailed Characteristics, Table 190, "Persons of Races Other Than White and Persons of Spanish Heritage, by Nativity, Sex, and Age: 1970,"1-593-5, and United States Census, Supplementary Report of 1970 Census of Population, "Persons of Spanish Ancestry," PC-(SI)-30, February 1973, Table 1, "Persons of Spanish Origin for Regions, Divisions, and States: 1970,"1. United States Census, United States Summary, General Population Characteristics, Table 60, "Races of the Population for Regions, Divisions, and States: 1970," 1-293, and "Special Report: American Indians," PC [2] - 1F.

4/ U.S. Government Printing Office, Profiles of Children, 1970 White House Conference on Children, Washington D.C., pp. 21-22.

5/ Report of the Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children, Crisis in Child Mental Health: Challenge for the 1970's, Chapter V, "Children of Minority Groups: A Special Mental Health Risk," (New York: Harper and Row, 1970),pp. 215-249.

PART ONE

IDENTIFICATION OF MAJOR CONCERNS

From the review of literature on ethnicity and social work, with special reference to child care settings, four major areas of concern have been identified. These are: (1) the elimination of myths which have hampered the understanding of the ethnic communities, their problems, and their special needs; (2) the lack of recognition and appreciation on the part of planners and practitioners of the diversity of ethnic patterns and the values of the client population; (3) the lack of appreciation of bilingualism as a cultural pattern and as a necessary component in service delivery for those who speak English as a second language; and (4) the threat to the survival of the group as a cultural entity, exacerbated by a service system which ignores consideration of ethnicity in the planning of social services for minority clients.

Section One

ELIMINATION OF MYTHS

To some extent, all of the ethnic groups included in this study have suffered because of myths and ingrained notions which have become institutionalized in the social welfare field. These have had a profound effect

on the extent and type of services offered and delivered to clients of minority groups. In the following section some prevalent myths about ethnic groups which are barriers to service delivery will be discussed.

Asian Americans: a Model Minority?

Asian Americans, unlike other nonwhite ethnic groups, have been denied needed services because of overly-positive stereotypes. They have been seen as the "model minority" - self-sufficient, successful, and capable of meeting with their own resources those few problems that they face.

Ford H. Kuramoto, has said:

> The myth of the American Dream as illustrated by the Asian experience not only involves the problems of identity and recognition imposed by the majority, but includes the myth that all Asians are affluent. Most Asians are believed to have too much money to be considered a "poverty" category, yet many live in extreme poverty.
>
> . . . part of the Asian problem is that the majority of society believes that Asians do not have problems, and in some cases that Asians do not even constitute a minority group. Although there are some Asians who feel that they do not represent a disadvantaged ethnic minority, it is my opinion that most Asians would agree that they are not only a minority group, but suffer at least to some extent from that status at the hands of the racist process in this country. 1/

Other references in the literature suggest that the Asian American is very sensitive to his "favored" position among ethnic minorities and keenly aware of how he is

being used to justify racist attitudes and policies toward other ethnic groups.

In the recently issued Asian American Task Force Report of the Council on Social Work Education it was noted that:

> In the view of Asian Americans today, they are being exploited as pawns in a desperate game that is being played to legitimize racism in this country. The middle-class status of some Asians, particularly successful Chinese and Japanese in the professions and business, is generalized to characterize all Asians, and they are then held out as proof that freedom and democracy are alive and well in America. As success tokens of American democracy and the free enterprise system, the example of Asians is used to deny or minimize the existence of racial problems and thus to perpetuate the oppression of peoples of color. The stereotype is cultivated that Asians have made it through the virtues of hard work, thrift, education and initiative; and therefore, it is asked why can't the Blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans and the rest do likewise?
>
> Because Asians have no power of their own, they have felt themselves to be in a vulnerable position and have not challenged these myths. Asians who have attained economic security feel compelled to defend the system and to acquiesce in performing the role of the well-fed houseboys of the establishment. 2/

Pei-Ngor Chen in her article, "The Chinese Community in Los Angeles," Social Casework, December, 1970, notes that there are cultural values within the Chinese community which foster reinforcement of the "model minority" myth among the Chinese:

> The myth that Chinese people have no problems is a fallacy. The Chinese people in America have problems now, have had them in the past, and will continue to have them in the future.

> Two significant factors contribute to the misconceptions about the Chinese population in America: (1) the general public's tendency to stereotype ethnic groups and (2) the Chinese people's tendency to hide the darker side of their culture. It has been assumed that traditional strong family ties among the Chinese have reduced their problems to a minimum and that the Chinese people can take care of their own problems. The Chinese people themselves tend to reinforce and exaggerate these distortions and thereby add to the general misconceptions about them. Honor and pride have prevented them from making their problems known to the public. 3/

The consequences of this myth for the provision of social welfare services have been that many much needed services have not been sought after by Asian Americans and therefore not provided. Asian Americans have been systematically excluded from many social welfare programs.

In writing of New York's Chinatown, Marjorie Sloan Nicol stated:

> At least one manifestation of the conflict between Chinese and American cultures has a direct bearing on the provision of services to Chinatown residents. Stereotypes on the surface favorable to the Chinese have apparently limited awareness by the general public and the Chinatown residents themselves of the unmet psychosocial problems in Chinatown. According to Cattell, many social and health needs of the Chinatown residents go unmet because of the idealized conception that problems of its residents can be met without extra-community help. Chinatown leaders have actively per-

> petuated this stereotype, supporting the notion that relationship groups and other protective associations within the community could meet the needs of their members.[4/]

Perhaps the most definitive statement about the consequences of the "model minority" myth for Asian Americans was made by Bok-Lim C. Kim, in an article entitled "Asian Americans, No Model Minority," Social Wrk, May, 1973:

> . . . In 1971 the Japanese American Citizen's League reported consistent patterns of exclusion of Asian Americans and their communities from most of the federally supported demonstration projects and research, education and vocational training, and social and rehabilitative programs. The underlying rationale for this exclusion is that Asian Americans are a successful 'model minority' and do not need such programs. National and local social welfare organizations and those in related fields also 'neglect' to include Asian-American concerns in their programs or representatives in their policy-making boards, thereby depriving themselves and Asian Americans of the opportunity to deal with urgent issues associated with institutional racism in this country.
>
> The maintenance of the convenient myth of Asian-Americans as a model minority excludes them from nationwide concerns and education, health, housing, employment, and social welfare programs. However, behind the busy, prosperous shops and restaurants of Chinatown's little Tokyos are thousands of unattached old people wasting away their remaining years in poverty and ill health and children of new and not-so-new immigrants left at home with out adequate adult supervision while their parents work long hours to support them. Unnoticed and ignored by the social welfare community are uncounted numbers of deserted and abused wives and children of American service men.

> In view of the complex problems confronting Asian-American communities and the lack of resources for their resolution, the urgent and foremost task confronting Asian-Americans in the human services is to establish a clear Asian-American identity and to make visible issues and problems their peoples face. 5/

The American Indian: Caught Between Two Worlds

The literature reviewed implied that a major belief which has governed policy formation in social services for the American Indian is the notion that the Indian cannot live in a truly bicultural way - taking the best from the tribal world and the dominant culture and synthesizing these into a viable life style. The belief has been that the Indian must be forced to assimilate into the white culture if he is to survive, and he must completely abandon tribal ways.

In an article entitled, "The Sociocultural Setting of Indian Life," American Journal of Psychiatry, August, 1968, D'Arcy McNickle stated that:

> In discussing the Indian situation it is customary, almost compulsory, to refer to the individual tribesman as man caught between two worlds, as a man who must break free from the past in order to find his place in the future - everyone recognizing that his hold on the present is precarious. The Indian world is dead the inference runs, and the tribesman must get on with the business of making over his life.

> In these customary discussions it is usually conceded that for one reason or another - public indifference or bureaucratic mismanagement - the Indian people have been held back by various disabling conditions. Remove the disabilities, it is reasoned, and the transformation will follow. . . .
>
> The reasoning proceeds from the assumption that the tribal-tradition Indian is prepared to break the kinship web and move from a personal into an anonymous world. . . . An additional assumption is involved here - that Indians have no choice. If they do not secularize their institutional modes, the outside community will simply move in on them. This has been a recent threat, when Congress legislated some tribes out of existence and promised a like outcome for all tribes - unless they moved of their own accord 6/

This policy of forced assimilation has been directed especially toward Indian children, and no better example of it can be given than that of the boarding school situation.

In an article in the New York Times "Indian Home Life Causes Concern," March 8, 1969, it was stated:

> Under so called remedial and welfare programs . . . one Indian child in four is presently taken from his reservation home and sent off to boarding schools or to some form of foster care.
>
> Boarding schools are operated by the Government for disturbed children with behavior problems or for children with disrupted families, but they really are homes of detention with no rehabilitative services at all.
>
> About 40,000 Indian reservation children, half of them Navajos in the Southwest, are taken from their families and sent to boarding schools, sometimes hundreds of miles away.

> In addition to the children in boarding schools, up to 10,000 have been more permanently removed from their families and sent to foster homes . . .7/

Annie D. Wauneka, in a paper presented at a workshop on "Emotional Problems of the Indian Students in Boarding Schools and Related Schools" stated that the Navajo people do not wish to send their children away from home and that the policy of the Navajo tribe is to seek the means of educating their children as close to home as possible.8/ The Congress of the United States is cited for not seeing fit to make classroom seats available to all the youngsters within their local communities.

The problem of the education of Navajo and other Indian children goes far deeper than just the unwillingness to provide facilities at the local level. The Boarding School has become the instrument of forced assimilation where the Indian child is anglicized.

In a paper, "Boarding Schools and the Psychological Problems of Indian Children", Dr. Robert L. Bergman describes this role of the boarding school:

> In the world of the boarding school, not only the Navajo language, but almost all things Navajo are rated very low. The children are frequently told not to be like their parents and they are often admonished against following the traditions of their people. . . .

> . . . I recently heard of an incident in which a school employee invited several girls to her quarters to make fried bread - a traditional Navajo food. All concerned were reprimanded for this violation of school rules.
>
> The lack of parents or parent substitutes leaves the children with no opportunities for identifying with any adult, except in a negative way. They see that Navajo employees of the schools generally are in low status and are not as much respected by the powers that be and this does not help their own feelings of self-esteem.9/

This example illustrates some ways in which Indian children are treated because it is believed that they must abandon the old ways and be forced to accept the values and mores of the dominant culture. The most crucial child welfare concern of the Indian people, as expressed in the literature, is that no matter what the nature of the services to be provided for the Indian child - day care, foster care, adoption or boarding school, they be offered with recognition of the positive values of the Indian culture. The maintenance of cultural continuity is seen as a matter of Indian survival and the child is seen as the crucial link between the way "of the old ones" and the future of the Indian people.

Many Indians believe that they can be truly bucultural and they see enormous value in this. Joe Braswell, of the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, in a paper "The Concept of Self and Social Work With American Indians, " proposed a

policy of "selective acculturation," stating:

> . . . this aspect of self-hood is closely related to the self-ideal. The values which have been internalized are the building blocks from which this dimension of self is constructed. This is another area in which many of our Indian people are caught in a bind, especially our young people. They are not certain what they want to be, an assimilated white Indian or a traditional Indian completely, one who has reverted to the old tribal way as totally as possible. I believe that there is a third alternative, one which many of our people seek to follow today. It has been termed "selective acculturation without assimilation". This means cultural interaction without loss of cultural identity, to be culturally eclectic, to take from both cultures those elements we want and to mold them into a way of life that alienates us from neither.10/

Like the American Indian, the Chicano is believed to be a man who must make a choice between the ways of his forefathers and the dominant American culture. Social scientists have been quick to point out cultural traits in the Mexican American culture which hamper children in their "necessary" acculturation to the values of the Anglo society. In a recent article entitled, "The Chicano Family: A Review of the Research", Social Casework, March, 1973, Miguel Montiel states:

> The following child-rearing practices are viewed in the literature as factors that hamper acculturation and assimilation: parents indulge male children, which limits their desire to achieve; do not encourage independence; teach their children lax habits; do not stress education; are oriented to the past; speak only Spanish, and think too much about their own misfortunes.11/

Montiel quotes Burma to represent the attitude of many social scientists who believe that the Chicano cannot survive as a bicultural man. Burma stated:

> It appears necessary for the Mexican American to make up his mind which culture he wishes for his own, rather than to drag willy nilly with unrelated parts of each.12/

The Latin Family: Extended Familism and the Care of Dependent Children

In most of the literature written about the Mexican American and Puerto Rican cultures there are numerous references to the extended family network with its informal system of mutual obligation, including the care of dependent children. If planners of child welfare services assume that there does exist within Latin communities an informal network of child-caring resources, this has serious implications for the extent to which formal agency services are provided.

In a recent article in Social Casework, February, 1974, entitled, "Impact of External Systems on the Puerto Rican Family," Emilida Mizio characterizes the Puerto Rican family as follows:

> The Puerto Rican family is, in contrast to the American, an extended family; intimate relationships within the kinship system are of high value and a source of pride and security . . . . The Puerto Rican family encompasses not only those related by blood and marriage, but also those tied to it through custom. The compadrazgo and hijos de crianza are important parts of the Puerto Rican family system.
>
> The compadrazgo is the institution of compadres or ('companion parents'), a network of ritual kinship whose members have a deep sense of obligation to each other for economic assistance, encouragement, support, and even personal correction. Sponsors of the child at baptism and confirmation assume the role of padrinos ('godparents') to the child and compadres to the parents. Witnesses at a marriage or close friends also assume this role. Hijos de crianza ('children of upbringing') is the cultural practice of assuming responsibility for a child, without the necessity of blood or even friendship ties, and raising the child as if he were one's own. There is no stigma attached to the parent for surrendering his child or to the child who is given up. This may be a permanent or temporary arrangement.13/

This characterization defines the traditional Puerto Rican family. The question for those who plan and implement services for Puerto Rican children, however, is to what extent this type of family system is prevalent in the Puerto Rican community today. As Emilicia Mizio noted in her article:

> To write about the Puerto Rican family living in the United States as if there were a universal model would be deceiving. Families are affected by strains in different ways, and the Puerto Rican family system must be viewed as being on a continuum. At one end is the extended family system with traditional Puerto Rican values, and at the other end is the nuclear family system with an American value system.14/

This qualification must be made for the Mexican Americans as well. Montiel states that the recent studies and surveys done of the Chicano community indicate that the extended family is almost nonexistent. He cites a finding by Ulibarri who surveyed migrant families in the Southwest and found that the concept of the extended family had been lost. He notes further that Grebler and associates found that only 4 percent of the Chicano families in Los Angeles, California and only 3 percent in San Antonio, Texas were extended households. Montiel concludes that, "If these studies accurately represent the urban Chicano family, then the extended stable family has never been as extensive as many social scientists have claimed".15/ In spite of the findings cited by Monteil, current literature on the Mexican American is full of references to the extended family unit and its importance as a child-caring resource in the Mexican community.

Ignacio Aquilar, for example, in his article, "Initial Contacts with Mexican-American Families," Social Work, May, 1972 noted:

> To Mexican Americans the extended family is of great significance in their pattern of living; they take it for granted that in time of trouble they can always count on the family to help out.[16]

In her article, "Mexican-American Interaction with Social Systems," Social Casework, May, 1971, Marta Sotomayor, characterized the Mexican family including the phenomenon of compadrazgo, as follows:

> In the extended family pattern, the members often rescue the head of a household by sharing their goods to meet the daily needs of his family. ... Various members of the family assume the physical and affective care of the child when stress from the external system causes self-preoccupation of an individual parent. This process is also present at times of internal crisis, such as the birth of a new child, when the extended family gives care to the mother during her convalescence and to the older youngsters. . . .[17]

The compadrazgo relationship has many similar characteristics and functions: relationships assume familial overtones in which the emotional and physical responsibilities for children are also shared. Although it is true that many Mexican Americans who migrate to this country (and others who were in the Southwest before

the United States expansion into these territories) brought with them the extended family pattern and the phenomenon of compadrazgo, with its emphasis on kinship and deep, lasting relationships, the changes experienced in this society have greatly diluted, if not modified, such structures and their accompanying relationships.

The degree to which the extended family exists in the Mexican American and Puerto Rican cultures is an appropriate subject for further systematic research, expecially if service delivery strategies are to reflect the extent and type of informal child-caring resources available within these ethnic communities. The perception of the extended family pattern as a viable resource also has implications for the way in which a worker will handle a crisis. Alejandro Garcia, for example, in "The Chicano and Social Work," Social Casework, May, 1974, stated:

> Aware of the extended family pattern of the Chicano, the worker should not suggest out-of-home placement of the elderly or disabled relative. The Chicano has close family ties, and he assumes responsibility for those relatives who can no longer care for themselves. His training from early childhood has conditioned him to the tradition of the young and able person assuming the responsibility for the elderly and disabled.[18]

Blacks: How Acceptable Is Illegitimacy?

The social welfare literature is replete with myths and half-truths about the Black community, but none has so affected the planning and delivery of child welfare services as the "acceptance of illegitimacy" myth. This belief was articulated by Clarence B. Fischer, in his article, "Homes for Black Children," Child Welfare, February, 1971:

> The following are a few of the attitudes frequently expressed by workers in the field:
>
> After all, the Black culture does not permit the giving away of children; "Everyone knows the unwed mother and her illegitimate child are easily assimilated into the family in the Black community;" The statistics on unrelated adoptions do not take into account the higher number of related adoptions among black people. Those figures show that large numbers of black children are being adopted.19/

Fischer noted further that, based on a study done by the United Community Services of Metropolitan Detroit on Illegitimacy in 1968, the attitudes previously cited were shown to be either myths or a way for the community to absolve itself of guilt for the failure to provide needed services. The study proved that black families have little or no choice on adoptions.20/

In an article, "The Ghetto: Some Perceptions of a Black Social Worker," Social Work, October, 1969, Marie Simmons Saunders discussed this misconception:

> The black family, first of all, is an extended family. Relatives readily share responsibility for child-rearing. The family usually comes to the aid of a troubled member; for example, it is unusual for a young black unwed mother to give up her child for adoption. More likely the baby will be accepted into the larger family and be reared by the maternal grandmother, behavior that although frequently the target of criticism by whites, reflects a human quality. The young white unwed mother, on the other hand, is likely to consider abortion first and, failing that, to go the adoption route. Contrary to popular statistics, the young black female is not more promiscuous than her white counterpart. Nor do black families condone illegitimate pregnancy; they simply have more compassion for the child once it has been conceived. 21/

FOOTNOTES FOR SECTION ONE

1/ Ford H. Kuramoto, "What Do Asians Want?: An Examination of Issues in Social Work Education," Journal of Social Work Education, 7 (Fall, 1971), p. 13.

2/ Kenji Murase, Ed. Asian American Task Force Report, Council on Social Work Education, 1973, p. i.

3/ Pei-Ngor Chen, "The Chinese Community in Los Angeles," Social Casework, 51:10(December, 1970), p. 591.

4/ Marjorie Sloan Nicol, "Characteristics of Chinese-American Children with Problems," Smith College Studies in Social Work, 36:3 (June, 1966), p. 235.

5/ Bok-Lim C. Kim, "Asian Americans No Model Minority," Social Work, 18:3 (May, 1973), p. 44-45

6/ D'Arcy McNickle, "The Sociocultural Setting of Indian Life," American Journal of Psychiatry, 125:2 (August, 1968), p. 115.

7/ Edward C. Burks, "Indian Home Life Causes Concern," New York Times, Saturday, March 8, 1969.

8/ Annie D. Wauneka, "Avoidance of Emotional Disturbances," Paper for the Workshop: "Emotional Problems of the Indian Student in Boarding Schools," Workshop Proceedings, Albuquerque, New Mexico, April, 1960, p. 1.

9/ Robert L. Bergman, M.D., "Boarding Schools and the Psychological Problems of Indian Children," Unpublished paper prepared under the auspices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, pp. 5-7.

10/ Joe Braswell, "The Concept of Self and Social Work with American Indians." Unpublished paper presented at the National Conference on Social Welfare, Atlantic City, New Jersey, May 27-31, 1973, p. 7-8

11/ Miguel Montiel, "The Chicano Family: A Review of the Research," Social Work,18:3 (March, 1973), p. 25.

12/ Ibid.

13/ Emilicia Mizio, "Impact of External Systems on the Puerto Rican Family," Social Casework,55:2 (February, 1974), p. 77.

14/ Ibid, p. 78.

15/ Montiel, op. cit., p. 23.

16/ Ignacio Aquilar, "Initial Contacts with Mexican-American Families," Social Work,17:3 (May, 1972),p. 68.

17/ Marta Sotomayor, "Mexican-American Interaction with Social Systems," Social Casework,52:5 (May, 1971), p. 322.

18/ Alejandro Garcia, "The Chicano and Social Work," Social Casework,52:5 (May, 1971),p. 276.

19/ Clarence B. Fischer, "Homes for Black Children," Child Welfare,50:2 (February, 1971),p. 108.

20/ Ibid.

21/ Marie Simmons Saunders, "The Ghetto: Some Perceptions of a Black Social Worker," Social Work, 14:4, October 1969),p. 86.

Section Two

LACK OF RECOGNITION OF ETHNIC PATTERNS AND VALUES

A second theme which occurs throughout the literature is the concern of minority group members for the lack of recognition given in the planning and delivery of services to their distinctive cultural patterns and values. The examples presented in this section by no means represent all the situations of actual or potential conflict between an ethnic subculture and the dominant society. They are illustrations, however, of areas in which recognition of ethnicity is important if appropriate services are to be offered to minority group clients. This is not to say that ethnic group members adopt a homogeneous position in relation to all of these issues. Factors such as age, birthplace, education and extent of acculturation affect the degree to which members of the group will reflect the traditional values or changing cultural patterns. The social worker may be called upon in situations where culture conflict is involved, in particular in child welfare, and awareness of ethnic group values, internal stresses, and acculturation concepts are essential for appropriate intervention.

Asian Americans

The Values of the Confucian Family

In an article entitled, "Assimilation and Changing Social Roles of Chinese Americans" in Asian Americans: A Success Story, edited by Stanley Sue and Frank Kitano, Stanley M. Fong makes the following characterization of the traditional Confucian family, whose basic value system is still a part of Chinese American family life:

> The Chinese have traditionally been accustomed to live within very prescribed patterns of behavior. A social hierarchy exists in the family system which takes into account generation, age, and sex. The Confucian philosophy behind the family system is prescribed status which gives every man and woman a definite place in society. If everyone knows his place and acts in accordance with his position, social order is believed to be assured. In a traditional society, the members of the elder generation are superior to those of the younger generation, and within each generation the eldest has priority over the youngest. Additionally males occupy a superior position in relation to females. The relationship between father and son is especially emphasized, for it is considered to be the most important one in the family. This relationship is viewed as a link in an unending chain between generations, reaching up to ancestor worship and down to the "sin" of no posterity. Whenever economically feasible, the extended family system encourages the living together of blood relatives under one roof. Filial piety or loyal devotion to parents is a primary commandment to all Chinese. Since it is strictly tabooed to contradict or disobey one's elders, the young person must at all cost exert self-restraint. The line of authority remains indelible and clear-cut throughout life...1/

It is not difficult, even from the brief characterization presented by Fong, to note areas of conflict where

the values of the dominant culture will clash with the Confucian tradition, especially for second, third, and fourth generation Chinese Americans.

Fong goes on in his article to point out the nature of this cultural conflict for the Asian-American child:

> . . . It is common in the American culture to teach the individual to make his own decisions and to assert his own independence, which is contrary to the Chinese approach. The bi-cultural child may then develop some conflict-laden identifications, with two social worlds, the one of the parents and the other of the teacher and peers."[2]

A cultural pattern to which the helping person working with the Chinese community and its children should be sensitive is the special relationship which exists between father and eldest son. Fong characterizes this relationship in more detail:

> The Chinese admonish the male, as soon as he is able to understand, to obey his parents, especially the father, to the fullest extent; that it is bad behavior to question his wisdom or decisions; that it is good to do whatever he wants done without the slightest regard for one's own feelings; that it is not desirable to commit oneself to any independent line of action;that it is sinful to do anything which disturbs his father in any way....[3]

The special stresses this places on the eldest son, in particular, means that he will probably have the greatest difficulty in resolving the cultural conflicts between the Chinese traditional values and the values of the dominant society in which he must function. This was discussed by Majorie Sloan Nicol in a study she conducted in New York City's Chinatown of Chinese American children who had social and emotional problems. In a publication

entitled "Characteristics of Chinese-American Children with Problems", Smith College Studies in Social Work, June, 1966, she stated:

> The preponderance of first males in the study might indicate that they are the focus of much stress, both intra-familial and inter-cultural. Families "moor" the eldest son most securely to tradition, while currents of ~~social~~ cultural change would tend to sweep him along. Eldest sons are expected to be most passive in absorbing cultural values. Passive individuals, however, may experience the greatest difficulties in acculturation. The eldest son would seem to be the most vulnerable to withdrawal and isolation or its alternative (found not infrequently in Chinese culture) pronounced aggression.4/

The Issue of Parental Authority

The whole issue of parental authority is not peculiar to the Chinese. Many parents in the ethnic groups who value obedience to parental authority, particularly that of the father, find themselves at odds with their children who are being socialized to different values in their many contacts with significant others in the dominant culture. Family conflicts should be understood in this context. As Fong noted in his paper on the changing social roles in the Chinese community:

> The tension arising from reduced authority of parents in modern American families are not unique to the Chinese. In a study of American Indians, for example, Erikson (1963) indicates that the "weakest relationship" ...seems to be that between the children and their fathers, who cannot teach them anything and who in fact have become models to be avoided.

...The consequences of social change on patriarchal families in several ethnic groups seem to be familiar. In their study of Japanese and Mexican patriarchal families in America, Clark and Kiefer (1969) reached the following general conclusions about the younger generation:

> 'While they have been taught like their parents that proper family relationships are always respectful and based on appropriate role behavior, they do not share their parents' belief that, despite the personal conflicts involved, formalized interaction may be the best way of arranging things in an imperfect world. These young people wish things were different and some are angry and disappointed with their parents because they do not have greater intimacy and opportunity to express emotional and individual needs... The common complaint of young...Mexican-Americans, like their Japanese-American counterparts, is that there is no communication between them and their elders--that every thing is a game, a ritual that they cannot escape and that serves no positive purpose.[57]

In her article, "Samoans in California", Social Work, March, 1973, Pei-Ngor Chen, made similar observations of the interaction between Samoan American youth and their parents:

> Young Samoans have problems similar to those of other American young people. They are not sure of themselves in a society in which their roles are not clearly defined. They have identity problems in relation to their families, their island ties, and the strange city life that surrounds them.
>
> The problems of young Samoans are intensified by cultural conflicts. Some who are overwhelmed by new demands on them develop a deep sense of shame and defeat....
>
> At home the youth is told to obey the father or Maitai, but in school he is told to obey American laws - and there may be a conflict between the two. The old cultural values contradict the American values; in this country

> equality, democracy, and individuality are esteemed above the family. The young Samoan is told that he should compete to get ahead, but the average Samoan youth is not geared toward intense competition and attainment of material possessions.
>
> Young Samoans who are adjusting to the American way of life begin to question Samoan values. They cease to believe that the Maitai's word is law, that the father is always right or that they need to obey their older siblings.[6]

Mexican Americans

Machismo and the Issue of Parental Authority

In relating to the Mexican-American child, the child welfare worker needs to be aware that the Mexican-American family has traditionally experienced strong paternal authority. Robert Hayden says of the Mexican American family:

> The family is under the firm authority of the father, while the mother assumes the traditional subservient and severely prescribed role of the homemaker, the model of purity, bearer and trainer of children. This is a reflection of "hombria" or "machismo", i.e., the supreme male dominance, the male individualism, assertiveness, and extreme pride--attributes which strongly influence nearly all phases of Spanish-American life.[7]

This characterization of relationships is important to understand, unless things be done which will inadvertently increase conflicts between the Chicano child and his family. In his address to the "Early Childhood-Special Education Manpower Needs Conference" in Washington, D.C., December, 1971, for example, David Ballesteros presented a paper entitled, "Understanding the Bicultural Child" in which he

demonstrated how easily conflicts can be created for the Chicano child when relevant cultural factors like Machismo are not given due recognition:

> What makes the Spanish-speaking child appear "uneducable" is his failure in an educational system that is insensitive to his cognitive styles and cultural and linguistic background. An example of this would be the suppression of the male-dominant image-- that Mexican American boys bring to school. In school he is confronted by Anglo famale teachers (unlike in Mexico where the majority are male). If he is to succeed in school he becomes a feminized male, if he retains his macho characteristics he more than likely becomes a failure and a discipline problem. He is rewarded only for behavior accepted by the teacher.8/

When adequate attention is not given to the recognition and reinforcement of cultural values and patterns which the child learns at home, then the child will be conflicted or have to make a forced choice between his parents' values and those of the outside society. As Ballesteros notes, "The Spanish-speaking child feels forced to choose between his teachers and his parents, between his Anglo peers and his Spanish-speaking peers. The choice causes great turmoil and tension. And so it is not difficult to explain why Mexican American, Puerto Ricans, and other Spanish-speaking children have higher drop-out rates and absenteeism rates.9/

Chicano parents who see their children being caught between conflicting value systems are beginning to express their concern and take what they believe to be protective measures. In Tucson, Arizona for example, Mexican-American

parents have been reported as removing their children from an experimental educational program because of differences in child-rearing patterns. In an article, entitled, "Innovative School Losing Pupils: 'Cultural Clash' Gets the Blame", which appeared in the October 3, 1973 edition of the Tucson Daily Citizen, Adolfo Quezada reported that:

> Parents of some children trapped in a "cultural clash" at the former Miles Elementary School apparently have become disturbed at the results of an experimental program there and have begun removing their youngsters.
>
> ...Ronald DeWitt, principal of the Exploratory Learning Center, said that the innovative program is aimed at giving each child as much freedom of choice as possible. "This form of education is in conflict with those from more impoverished backgrounds, those with limited experiences," DeWitt said, specifying that he referred to Mexican-American and black families in the program.

The article went on to relate some of the responses of parents to the innovative program:

> "That school isn't teaching my children anything but how to be rude," said one mother. "They have no discipline and can talk back to anyone they want...
>
> ...You teach your children how to behave at home and they go to that school and lose it all"...

Summing up the major issue which is the challenge to parental authority, the principal stated that:

> "It is true that we have a different set of values," said DeWitt. "Mexican-American families have an authoritarian system and what father says goes. But we teach the children to question and they end up questioning father," he said.10/

American Indians

Competitiveness vs. Non-Interference

One of the most deeply ingrained values of the dominant culture in the United States is that of competition. Both philosophy and actual experience have proven that if one is to succeed in this society one must be willing to compete on an individual basis. No philosophy could be more antithetical to the value-system of Native Americans. In his paper, "The Concept of Self and Social Work with American Indians," Joe Braswell stated:

> It is my opinion that there is more conflict between the traditional Indian values and the values of the dominant non-Indian society than with any other ethnic minority.
>
> One example of value conflict...is between the Indian value of generosity and sharing and the non-Indian value of material achievement. The Indian value is to get in order to give, while the non-Indian value is to get to keep.11/

Other authors have expressed similar views. In his article, "American Indian Mythis", Social Work, May, 1972, Herbert Locklear of the American Indian Study Center in Baltimore, stated that: "Generosity is still the paramount virtue among Indians. An Indian cares more about being able to work at a satisfying occupation and earn enough to share with relatives and friends than about putting money in the bank and purchasing a home in the city."12/ C re Jerdone, a child welfare specialist for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, noted in her article, "Day Care for Indian Children", Young Children, January, 1965, that this

characteristic of the Indian culture is related to the conditions for survival on the reservation with its scarce resources:

> Some of the characteristics he /the Indian/ has developed through living on the reservation do not enable him to cope well with his new environment (urban). For example, on the reservation he is likely to have learned to be cooperative and to share with others, whereas, in the urban center, a competitive spirit and a responsibility limited to one's immediate family alone are necessary.13/

In an unpublished paper entitled, "Navajo Attitudes Toward Mental Illness and Mental Retardation," Dr. Jarrold F. Levy noted: "The competitive person who competes with and expolits his peers is definitely a problem in the Navajo culture and may be suspected of being a witch."14/

Charles Farris in his article, "A White House Conference on the American Indian," Social Work, January, 1973, related the Indians' reluctance to accept competitiveness as a value to the Indian philosophy of non-interference:

> The Indian has always had a special concern and respect for each person's right to live his own life without interference as long as he does not hurt his fellow man. For example, an Indian prayer to the Great Spirit says: 'Before being critical of one's neighbor, one should walk a mile in the neighbor's moccasins.' This philosophy is further reflected in the Indian natural reluctance to be competitive or aggressive in personal relationships. He has always stood ready to give assistance to and share with his needy fellow men. Ironically, the settler's early survival depended on the help freely offered by the American Indians.15/

The importance American Indians place on self-determination without competing and without interference from others was stated by Carter Camp, Chairman of the American Indian Movement (AIM). In an interview in Akwesasne Notes Early Autumn, 1973, he stated:

> Our problems are only as far as they are related to the white economic system. Once we are divorced from that, we won't have to worry about 'upgrading our standard of living'. We can live by what would be considered a poor standard of life by white standards and still have a good life and be happy.
>
> That is one of the differences between us and the struggles of other minority groups. We are not concerned with having a $10,000 median income for our people. We are concerned with our people being free and living the way they want to live.
>
> ...We're not looking for a 9-5 job, a white collar job for all our Indian people. We're not looking for upward mobility in the social structure of the United States. We don't need that, we don't want that, we don't want anything to do with that. We're looking for our sovereignty, our ability to govern ourselves, and for every person to live as a free person. To live the way they want to live.16/

It is important for persons who are in a position to plan programs for Indian children to be aware of these sentiments, because Indian children will be aware of parental values. Even something which may seem as trivial as rewarding a child in the classroom for some small achievement can take on great importance, if cultural values such as those expressed here are understood. In a paper prepared by the Shirpock Indian Agency in New Mexico for use by its staff, "Culture and Its Relationship to Values in Conflict for Indian People," it was suggested that workers in a school "Reward progress or advances made by a student in

such a manner that he will not gain the enmity of his peers; gold stars opposite his name can be very embarrassing to some tribal groups."[17]/

The Indian philosophy of non-interference also has many implications for deciding which helping methods will be most effective in working with Indian natural, foster, or potential adoptive parents. In an article entitled, "Native American Non-Interference," Social Work, November, 1973, Jimm G. Good Tracks wrote:

> ...all methods usually associated with the term 'social work intervention' diminish in effectiveness just to the extent that the subject has retained his native Indian culture. The reason is that any kind of intervention is contrary to the Indian's strict adherence to the principal of self-determination.[18]/

In addressing the child-care worker, Good Tracks noted: "The Indian child is taught that complete noninterference in interaction with all people is the norm, and that he should react with amazement, irritation, mistrust, and anxiety to even the slightest indication of manipulation or coercion."[19]/

In addition to being aware of the culture patterns, the the social workers need to understand the way the Indian client evaluates the social work process, and adjust helping methods accordingly. As Good Tracks stated:

> From an Indian client's point of view, the worker is expected to perform only the superficial and routine administrative functions of his office. ...These tasks involve no real social involvement, as involvement is understood by both Indians and non-Indians. The Indian client does not allow or desire the worker to have any insight into his inner thoughts. That would not be a proper part of work.
>
> This expectation does not, of course, correspond to the professional social workers' own concept of his function.... Nevertheless, the workers must not intervene unless the people request an intervention and he is likely to wait a long time for such a request. The credentials of his profession, his position, status, knowledge, skills, achievements, and authority, though respected by the agency, are in most cases completely without merit among Indians. Such things belong to the Anglo culture and are not readily translatable into Indian culture.20/

In her article, "Ways of Working With Navajos Who Have Not Learned the White Man's Ways," Navajo Times, September 8, 1966, Kathryn Polacca, advised program planners to be aware of the Indian value of non-interference. She cited a statement by Paul Jones, Navajo Tribal Chairman to reinforce her point:

> We Navajos will look you over for a couple of years, and then decide whether we are for you or against you.

Polacca went on to state:

> ...One important thing for the person working with the Navajos to remember is that they do not like being pushed. No matter how eager one may be to hurry things along, too much pushing may slow down the progress.21/

FOOTNOTES FOR SECTION TWO

1/ Stanley M. Fong, "Assimilation and Changing Social Roles of Chinese Americans," in Asian-Americans: A Success Story? Edited by Stanley Sue and Frank Harry H.L. Kitano, Special Publication of the Journal of Social Issues, 29:2, 1973, p. 116.

2/ Ibid., p. 118.

3/ Stanley M. Fong, "Identity Conflicts of Chinese Adolescents in San Francisco," in E.B. Brody, Ed. Minority Group Adolescents in the United States (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins), 1968, p. 114.

4/ Nicol, op. cit., p. 254-255

5/ Stanley M. Fong, Asian-Americans: A Success Story? op.cit., p. 119.

6/ Pei-Ngor Chen, "Samoans in California," Social Work, 18:2 (March, 1973), p. 45.

7/ Robert G. Hayden, "Spanish-Americans of the Southwest," Welfare in Review, 40:4 (April, 1966), p. 20.

8/ David Ballesteros, "Understanding the Bicultural Child." Paper presented at the Early Childhood Special Education Manpower Needs Conference in Washington D.C., December 9, 1971, p. 5.

9/ Ibid., p. 3.

10/ Adolfo Quezada "Innovative School Losing Pupils," Tucson Daily Citizen, Wednesday, October 3, 1973, p. 23.

11/ Braswell, op. cit., p. 8-9

12/ Herbert Locklear, "American Indian Myths," Social Work, 17:3 (May, 1972), p. 77.

13/ Clare Jerdone, "Day Care for Indian Children," Young Children,20:3 (January, 1965), p. 145-146

14/ Jarrold Levy, Ph.D., "Navajo Attitudes Toward Mental Illness and Mental Retardation." Unpublished paper, p. 4.

15/ Charles E. Farris, "A White House Conference on the American Indian," Social Work,18:1 (January, 1973), p. 83.

16/ An Interview With Carter Camp, Akwesasne Notes, Early Autumn, 1973, p. 11.

17/ "Culture and Its Relationship to Values in Conflict for Indian People." Unpublished paper, Reprint from the Shiprock Indian Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs, p. 5.

18/ Jimm G. Good Tracks, "Native American Noninterference," Social Work,18:6 (November, 1973), pp. 30-34.

19/ Ibid., p. 31.

20/ Ibid., p. 33.

21/ Kathryn Polacca, "Ways of Working With Navajos Who Have Not Learned the White Man's Ways," Navajo Times, September 8, 1966, p. 1.

Section Three

LACK OF APPRECIATION OF BILINGUALISM

For those ethnic minorities whose mother tongue is a language other than English, the recognition of their linguistic background is of crucial importance. The literature of Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asian Americans, and American Indians has all expressed concern that services for group members be planned and implemented by persons familiar with their language, as well as other aspects of their cultural background. Members of these groups have also expressed concern over the devaluation and denigration of their language in many institutional settings, especially the educational system, where this practice has had devastating consequences for the adjustment of their children.

For example, as Robert Hayden pointed out in his article, "Spanish Americans of the Southwest," Welfare in Review, April, 1966:

> ...in many Southwest schools the use of Spanish is forbidden in class and on the playground; often there have been attempts to devalue it by ridicule and other means. It would be unnatural if such negation of Spanish did not create resentment and defensive reinforcement of loyalty to la raza. The aim of Anglo school authorities is to make Spanish-American students proficient in English. However, instead of this desired result

> the unintended consequences are likely to be alienation of the student from the Anglo world and its language, early school leaving, reduced respect for the process of education, rebelliousness and delinquency, and a low level of aspiration.1/

In his paper, "Understanding the Bicultural Child," presented at the Early Childhood Special Education Manpower Needs Conference in Washington, D.C., David Ballesteros stated, "We so often err in equating bilingualism with a handicap, or at least with some sort of special problem. A Spanish speaking child's state of socioeconomic disadvantage, which is usually accompanied by a lack of knowledge or a limited knowledge of the English language, is nearly always interpreted as a 'language handicap'."2/

In their recently published set of guidelines entitled Approaches for the Institutionalization of Bilingual Bicultural Head Start Programs Serving the Chicano Child, Interstate Research Associates suggested ways in which educators can help the Spanish-speaking child not only to appreciate his native language, but to develop proficiency in both languages. They stated that educators should attempt to foster the following:

> ...the enhancement of the child's self-concept by building on his cultural strengths and differences...
>
> ...to link the home with the school by utilizing and/or recognizing the language, tools, decoration, food and customs of the home...
>
> ...enhance language development through the use of both languages...

> ...prevent educational gaps by allowing the child to learn skills and concepts in whichever language he best understands...
>
> ...preserve the child's sense of history, culture, identity, and language.[3]

For the American Indian child and his family, whose languages at one time represented 550 distinct Indian tongues, the importance of recognition and appreciation of linguistic diversity is even greater.

Dr. Robert L. Bergman, in his working with Navajo children in boarding schools, put himself in the position of the Indian child forced to learn English. He suggested the dilemma of the Indian child who must function in a world which refuses to recognize the validity of his mother tongue, saying:

> I have been trying to learn Navajo and find it a very difficult language; it seems reasonsable to assume that for the Navajo-speaking child, English is equally difficult, yet these children are expected to come to a large, strange, crowded institution and manage in an almost totally English speaking environment. Elsewhere when children are expected to learn a second language, reading, writing, and arithmetic are taught in their native language and concurrently they are instructed in another language. It would seem logical to do this with Indian children, and start teaching English only when the children have reasonable mastery of the language. Submerging the student in English from the first is now so long established a custom, however, that it seems rarely to be even questioned.[4]

Asian American children are also subject to similar conflicts both within the family and in their relationships outside the home because of language difficulties. In his

paper "Identity Conflicts of Chinese Adolescents in San Francisco," published in Minority Group Adolescents in the United States, edited by E.B. Brody, Fong said:

> ...most Chinese parents want their children to learn the language, customs, and manners of their ancestors. In a manner, they have given the Chinese school the task of socializing their children. Many of the youths react negatively to this experience...
>
> When the child goes to American public schools he learns a new language, and he acquires greater facility as he goes through school. The time will come when he speaks mainly English with his peers. He speaks English increasingly at home with his brothers and sisters. The parents may soon find that they are losing contact with their children and some communication problems develop. At school the child also learns new skills and social values which may be foreign to those of his parents. It is common in the American culture to teach the child to fend for himself, to make his own decisions, to stand on his own feet. Instead of being led by an authoritarian figure the pupil is encouraged to be self-reliant and independent. In fact the child may be encouraged to assert himself.
>
> The seeds of cultural conflict are sowed, then, at an early age, and the mind of the sprouting child may be bent, at some point, by the winds of perplexities.... One wonders if the desire of Chinese parents to enroll their children in Chinese schools is to some extent to maintain cultural continuity with their children.[57]

The Office of Child Development stated in its Day Care Handbook Number 2, that encouraging bilingual competency for children who speak English as a second language should be a priority in day care settings:

> Children should be encouraged to verbalize in more than one language. ... .Teachers should be bilingual to serve as good listeners and speaking models. Teaching of standard English should not

> be approached as a "phasing out" of another language or dialect and a child should be given recognition, praise, respect, and encouragement in his use of both languages. When appropriate, pre-reading and pre-writing activities should be conducted in both languages.6/

Other references in the litarature suggest that a bilingual approach should be taken in the delivery of services at all levels for those groups who speak English as a second language. The New York Committee for the Care of Puerto Rican Children, for example, stressed the need for a bilingual approach in all phases of the foster care process:

> Information given to Puerto Rican families about child welfare programs must be written in Spanish as well as English...
>
> There should be more extensive use of Spanish-speaking personnel during the intake and home study procedure and during the initial contacts with Spanish-speaking natural and foster parents....
>
> Foster parents should be provided information in Spanish on all legal matters such as the Foster Parents preference Law and the 24 Month Family Court Review, and the Subsidized Adoption Law...
>
> Bilingual-bicultural personnel should be used to administer psychological tests and provide treatment to children after they are placed. Personnel with this background also should analyze the test results. We are all aware that Puerto Rican children have often been labeled "retarded" or dull simply because of their inadequate knowledge of English....
>
> The agency should no longer use the excuse that the Puerto Rican family speaks little or no English to rationalize lack of services. It is the agencies' responsibility to hire Puerto Rican personnel who can ensure effective communication with the child and his family and with whom they can identify.7/

FOOTNOTES FOR SECTION THREE

1/ Hayden, op. cit., p. 17.

2/ Ballesteros, op. cit., p. 11.

3/ Interstate Research Associates. Approaches for the Institutionalization of Bilingual Bicultural Head Start Programs Serving the Chicano Child. Washington, D.C., 1972, p. 12.

4/ Bergman, op. cit., p. 3.

5/ Fong, "Identity Conflicts of Chinese Adolescents in San Francisco," op. cit., pp. 116-117.

6/ New York Committee for the Care of Puerto Rican Children. "Recommendations on the Care of Puerto Rican Children." Unpublished paper, p. 3.

7/ U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Child Development, Day Care Handbook Number 2. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971, p. 25.

Section Four

THREAT TO GROUP SURVIVAL

Underlying most of the concerns of ethnic minorities with respect to services for their children is the belief that children must survive culturally, as well as physically and emotionally, if the group as a whole is to survive as a cultural entity. Two major themes in the literature serve to emphasize this point: the stress on the priority of the natural family for child welfare services, and the opposition of many group members to the transracial adoption of their children.

As the socializing agent and conveyor of the culture, the family unit becomes immensely important. In much of the literature written by ethnic professionals about the way in which child welfare services for their children should be conceived, the maintenance of the natural family if at all possible becomes a top priority.

As Billingsley and Giovannoni state in Children of the Storm,

> . . . Adoption agencies should have more to offer natural parents than adoption. A fundamental issue arises here. If the primary function of adoption is to provide babies for couples wishing to adopt, then the natural parents and their children will

> remain of secondary concern. If, on the other hand, the primary function is to provide homes and services to children, then the natural parents are a valuable resource, and a multifunctional approach becomes vital. The commitment to such a function is one of the most fundamental changes that agencies must make if they are to adapt to the needs of Black children.1/

The New York Committee for the Care of Puerto Rican Children, in its "Recommendations on the Care of Puerto Rican Children," stated that priority must be given to the maintenance of the natural family:

> Every effort must be made to avoid placement of Puerto Rican children in foster homes or institutions. Before these are considered as alternatives, attempts must be made to help the child remain in his own family.
>
> Very often because of a lack of understanding on the part of agencies of the family's importance in Puerto Rican culture, and their inability to communicate adequately because of the language barrier, the decision is made to place a child in a foster home. How can a practitioner assess the needs of a family if he cannot communicate with them, How is he to judge the merits of over-all services, a step which directly involves his own values and personal background, if these are different from those of the client family? The result has frequently been that families give up their children for placement without evaluating possible alternatives and that children remain too long in placement after the major decision is made.

> Agencies should emphasize services to families that help maintain, support and strengthen them so as to avoid the separation of children from their homes.
>
> In line with this aim, we recommend:
>
> (a) More extensive homemaker services
> (b) Group or family day care
> (c) Medical services
> (d) Counseling
> (e) Family planning information
> (f) After-hours emergency children's services, using home aides
> (g) Employment services
> (h) Emergency loans or grants
>
> If a child must be placed, the natural family must remain a priority. Effective services must be established to expedite the child's return home.[2/]

Most child welfare agencies have affirmed a philosophic commitment to guard against the unnecessary placement of children when the natural family can be helped. Because of racism, misunderstanding, and lack of recognition of cultural patterns and values which shape the life of the ethnic minority family, misjudgments have been made about its adequacy to care for its own children. Shirley Jenkins and Elaine Norman, in Filial Deprivation and Foster Care, report on an extensive study of natural families with children in foster care. In discussing policy and practice issues, they stated:

> Parental rights also emerge as a matter of increasing concern. For any poverty group, there is a built-in problem of equity in access to available resources.

> Children can be moved from and returned to parental care for a range of reasons - some appropriate, some not - and these reasons may reflect arbitrary, discriminatory, or capricious decisions. One part of the problem in New York City, for example, is that for the large Spanish-speaking population decisions on child care may be based on inadequate comprehension of language or life style.3/

Because the minority group family is so easily misunderstood, it is often blamed for the short-comings of children. As Miguel Montiel noted:

> Casework services and early education programs for the culturally deprived are essentially designed to improve the functioning of individuals. The Chicano family, as described by social scientists, possesses certain characteristics that explain the "failures"of its young. Thus it logically follows that if these forces impinge on the "proper" socialization of Chicanos they must be replaced by traits that foster "successful" socialization.4/

Foster care is one area in which the recognition of ethnicity can be crucial. Many of the recommendations being made by various spokesmen for the ethnic minorities center around the maintenance of cultural continuity for the child in substitute care. For example, in their written report, the New York Committee for the Care of Puerto Rican Children noted:

> It frequently happens that, as a result of faulty placement, Puerto Rican children find themselves in foster homes where no Spanish is spoken. The result is that when

> they do finally return home, they can no longer communicate with their families in Spanish. . . . Part of the training in foster homes should be the teaching of Spanish and Puerto Rican culture and history.5/

The Committee recommended that foster parents be of the same ethnic and linguistic background as the child and that everything possible be done to recruit Puerto Rican foster parents when placement away from home becomes absolutely necessary.6/

Recognition of Ethnicity in Adoption

The service area in which concern for preservation of the group is strongest is adoption. No subject evokes more emotion and controversy in the child welfare field than that of transracial adoption, in particular the adoption of children of ethnic minorities by white adoptive parents. At the meeting of its Board of Directors on November 20, 1972, the Child Welfare League of America made the following amendment to its Standards for Adoption Service:

> In today's social climate, other things being equal, we believe that it is preferable to place a child in a family of his own racial background. We however reaffirm transracial adoption as one means of achieving needed permanence for some chilren. Children should not have adoption denied or significantly delayed when adoptive parents of other races are available.7/

When minority groups have adopted positions on transracial adoption, however, they have not been tolerant of the practice. In his article, "On the Transracial Adoption of Black Children", Child Welfare, March, 1972, Edmond D. Jones, made the following statement:

> My basic premise in opposing placement of black children in white homes, is that being black in the United States is a special state of being. At a time of intense racial polarity, recognition of this fact is crucial to survival. I question the ability of white parents, no matter how deeply imbued with good will - to grasp the totality of the problem of being black in this society. I question their ability to create what I believe is crucial in these youngsters - a black identity. I suggest that creation of a black identity is a problem for many black parents also; the difference, perhaps is one of degree. 9/

Many Black professionals in the field, as well as other Black people, feel that transracial adoption has been a convenient substitute for a concerted effort on the part of child welfare agencies to recruit, approve, and maintain a supply of adoptive parents who share the same ethnic background as the children they are supposed to serve. Jones stated this belief in his article:

> . . . the Black Experience - it's the broad sense of family, community, and kinship, blood-related or not, that never has stopped the black community from caring for homeless children, with no regard to adoption as a legal course. It is crucial that solutions to the problems of black people, including homes for black children, be pursued and realized within the context of that community, for certainly at this time in our national development no other solution is viable or acceptable. I suggest

> that the myth that 'no black homes available' is a social agency cop-out for not devising innovative and creative ways of facing up to the problem - a perfect example of benign neglect. 9/

Billingsley and Giovannoni echoed the sentiments of Jones, in their book Children of the Storm. They noted several reasons for the controversy over the transracial adoption of black children:

> Increasingly Black social workers are voicing strenuous objections to transracial adoptions as being based on ignorance and denial of the Black child's situation. This controversy can be expected to heighten. There are in fact several reasons why agencies should be discouraged from pursuing transracial adoptions on a large scale. To date, transracial adoptions have not made nearly as sizable a contribution to the placement of black children as have placements with black parents. In the agencies which have led in the adoption of black children, the vast majority have been placed with black couples. Those agencies making the highest proportion of transracial adoptions are also agencies that place the fewest black children.
>
> Second, the failure to recruit enough Black adoptive parents for all Black children in need of homes may well relate to the agencies' failure to involve the Black community. Persistent reliance on white couples may only deflect energy away from this more basic problem.
>
> Still a third reason arises from past and present undersupply of adoptable white infants. Adoption, as we have noted, originated as a means of serving white couples who wanted children. White infants for

> adoption are becoming increasingly scarce, and some believe that in the not too distant future there will be very few at all. However the pressure on the agencies by white couples has not decreased. There is the distinct possibility in such a situation that the white couples' desires will be given priority over the needs and welfare of Black children.[107]

The National Association of Black Social Workers recently issued their position statement on transracial adoption in which they take a firm stand against the transracial adoption of Black children because of their conviction that white adoptive parents cannot develop a sense of ethnic identity in the Black child nor teach him the many defenses Black people have developed to cope with the racism that is so much a part of their lives:

> We affirm the inviolable position of Black children in Black families where they belong physically, psychologically, and culturally in order that they receive the total sense of themselves and develop a sound projection of their future. . . . Black children in white homes are cut off from the healthy development of themselves as Black people, which development is the normal expectation and the only true humanistic goal.
>
> . . . Identity grows on three levels of all human development; the physical, the psychological, and the cultural, and the nurturing of self-identification is the prime function of the family. The incongruence of a white family performing this function for a Black child is easily recognized. The physical factor stands to maintain that child's dif-

ference from his family. There is no chance of him resembling any relative. One's physical identity with his own is of great significance.

The historically established and cultivated psychological perceptions and social orientation of white America have developed from their social, political, educational, and religious institutions. Consequently these are the environmental effects they have to transmit and their teachings are not consistent with the realities of the social system for the Black child. He assumes then, their posture and frame of reference, different and often antithetical to that of his ethnics which can only result in conflict and confusion when he does become aware of the social system in which he lives. Further internal conflict is inevitable by his minority status within his own family.

The socialization process for every child begins at birth and includes his cultural heritage as an important segment of the process. In our society the developmental needs of Black children are significantly different from those of white children. Black children are taught from an early age highly sophisticated coping techniques to deal with racist practices perpetuated by individuals and institutions. These coping techniques become successfully integrated into the ego functions and can be incorporated only through the process of developing positive identification with significant Black others. Only a Black family can transmit the emotional and sensitive subtleties of perception and reaction essential for a Black child's survival in a racist society. 11/

Although Black people have been relatively more outspoken with respect to their feelings about the transracial adoption of their children, other ethnic minorities have expressed similar feelings. In the Early Spring, 1972 issue of Akwesasne Notes, a publication of the Mohawk Nation, an editorial entitled "American Indian Groups Show Rising Signs of Resistance to Adoption of Indian Children By White Families," stated:

> Perhaps we are prejudiced ourselves. But this is is not an appeal to white people to adopt Indians. It is an appeal to white people to help their own social agencies to consider Indian applicants. If you, as a person, are truly concerned with the welfare of Indian children, then help strengthen Indian homes and Indian families so that Indian people can look after their own young ones. And if you are Indian, this is an appeal to think about the young ones who need you to teach the language, to take them to the ceremonials and dances, to raise them so they will know the ways, and be Indian in their outlook. 12/

In another Indian newspaper, The Nishnawbe News, November/December, 1973, there appeared an article entitled, "Hannahville Potawatomis Win In Federal Court Decision" which reported on a law suit brought by an Indian Tribe in Michigan. The suit involved many of the issues referred to in the literature. The article stated:

> The Wisconsin Potawatomis of the Hannahville Reservation, located in Michigan's Upper Peninsula have won a landmark decision in Federal Court, Marquette, which may well turn out to be one of national significance to the nation's federally organized tribes. The suit was filed against the Michigan Department of Social Services and concerned the removal of three Indian children from the reservation and their subsequently being

sent to Florida for adoption with distant white relatives.

The parents were deceased. The uncle and grandmother of the children - their closest relatives petitioned for either adoption or guardianship of the children. Reportedly, however, the Michigan Department of Social Services upon receiving custody of the three children sent them to Florida for adoption by a white family because they felt the "reservation was an unfit place to raise children."

U.S. District Court Judge, Albert Engel, in a November 16 decision ruled in favor of the Potowatomi Tribal community with the Court, agreeing that indeed the Tribal community had clear legal jurisdiction involving enrolled children of their tribe. In a 45 page decision the Court held the right of the Potowatomi Reservation to set up their own Court system and Juvenile Adoption Procedures.

Because of other incidents of this nature caused by a rash of adoptions of Indian children into white homes, there has been the formation of an organization known as the Michigan Indian Adoption Advisory Council to inform Indians throughout the State of the problem and compile a list of Indian families willing to adopt or provide foster care.

/members of the Council have stated/

We are going to say to the Social Service Department, We are the experts - use us . . . We have to point out that cultural environment may be more important to the child's welfare than material provisions. Low average family income is one of the major reasons why many Indian families have not been considered as having suitable adoptive homes and the Council made the lowering of income requirements one of the first demands. Further it was pointed out that this policy has been accepted for the blacks and that it is high time that it should be for Indians as well.

> . . . To abandon our children to white homes now would be a crime on our parts . . . We are already such a small minority and now to lose our children . . . 13/

The issues raised in these four sections express the major concerns: the prevalence of myths and stereotypes; the lack of recognition of ethnic differences, culture patterns and values; the lack of appreciation of bilingualism; and the threat to group survival. But the thrust of the readings has been positive, for the literature not only shows need for change but points to directions for movement. These will be discussed in Part Two of this review.

FOOTNOTES FOR SECTION FOUR

1/ Andrew Billingsley and Jeanne M. Giovannoni, Children of the Storm: Black Children and American Child Welfare New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Javanovich, 1972, p. 204.

2/ New York Committee for the Care of Puerto Rican Children, op. cit., p. 12.

3/ Shirley Jenkins and Elaine Norman, Filial Deprivation and Foster Care. New York: Columbia University Press, 1972, p. 272.

4/ Montiel, op. cit., p. 25.

5/ New York Committee for the Care of Puerto Rican Children, op. cit., p. 3.

6/ Ibid., p. 1.

7/ Child Welfare League of America, "Standards on Transracial Adoption," New York, 1972 (Mimeographed.) p. 1.

8/ Edmond D. Jones, "On the Transracial Adoption of Black Children," Child Welfare, 51:3 (March, 1972), p. 157.

9/ Ibid., p. 158.

10/ Billingsley and Giovannoni, op. cit., p. 198.

11/ National Association of Black Social Workers, "Position Statement on Transracial Adoption." New York, September, 1972 (Mimeographed.).

12/ Editorial Comment, "American Indian Groups Showing Rising Signs of Resistance to Adoption of Indian Children by White Families," Akwesasne Notes, published by the Mohawk Nation, Spring, 1972, p. 6.

13/ Mike Wright, "Hannahville Potawatomis Win in Federal Court Decision," Nishnawbe News, Marquette, Michigan: Organization of North American Indian Students, Late Fall Edition, 1973, p. 7.

PART TWO

PROPOSALS FOR CHANGE

It is difficult to draw a firm line separating out the kinds of changes recommended in the literature. Some changes are related primarily to staff and to training both in agencies and in schools; and some changes are more strongly related to programming and what goes into activities with children. Finally, some proposals are more global in nature, and while they involve both training and programming, they go more to basic changes in the system. These include changes in the law as well as changes in the organization of social services.

Section Five

RE-EDUCATION AND TRAINING

A theme which ran throughout the literature, especially that written by ethnic professionals, is that a process of systematic re-education is needed to alter prejudicial attitudes of agency staff and administrators which adversely affect the minority child. Billingsely and Giovannoni stated:

> While all of the agencies [surveyed by the authors] recognized the need for continuing staff education, and while the mechanisms for such education were established, the

> continuing problem was, of course, what to teach. Where in a white agency, embedded in a white system, was the information which would make the agency personnel more appropriately respond to the needs of black clientele? The issue of black community control is relevant here. The matter is not simply one of staff development, it is one of re-education. White staff, administrators and board members must enter into the situation as pupils - pupils of Black teachers selected by the Black people and teaching what they think should be taught not what the audience may want to hear.[1]

Later in their book, the authors cited above outlined more clearly the purpose of such re-education:

> The purpose of such re-education is to put Black people into a more realistic and positive perspective. Such education must be intellectual and emotional. ...We must learn a new concept of the Black community. We must learn that it is a historical and contemporary ethnic subsociety, sharing important conditions, experiences, values and sentiments. The rising moves toward ethnic solidarity in the black community must be understood in this context and aided and abetted by the child welfare system. A fundamental requirement is the abandonment of two important misconceptions of the Black community still current. One is the view that there is no Black community, but only individuals and families who happen to be Black and who are sometimes forced to live together because of prejudice and poverty. This view precludes recognition that the community has a meaningful institutional and cultural life of its own. The second view holds that there is a Black community, but that it is a depressed, poverty-ridden ghetto which should be destroyed or overcome. In the second view the community values are negative and dysfunctional for child care. The children should be "rescued" and placed in better surroundings by the white child welfare system. This view underlies the paternalism which characterizes the child welfare system today.

> Finally, a remedial education program must help us to develop a more realistic and positive conception of the Black family itself as it functions within the Black community and within the wider white society. The view is still common in child welfare that the Black family life is disorganized and unstable and that consequently not enough qualified Black families can be found to rear the large numbers of dependent and neglected Black children who need parents.2/

The Black Task Force Report of the Council on Social Work Education has made recommendations emphasizing the need to educate the social work student to the realities of the Black community before he is in a position to do damage because of prejudicial attitudes:

> The social work student taking a practicum/methods course for work in the Black community needs certain basic knowledge to develop a perspective that will enable him to work with Blacks. This includes: a knowledge of the history of Black people, conceived as a fusion of past and present with predictions for the future. The focus would be on the culture, religion, family development (including child rearing), marriage and the role of Black men, women and children in the kinship system. This type of knowledge should lead to an appreciation of the Black family and community on its own terms, rather than diverging from the norm.
>
> A knowledge of the political and economic systems, social institutions, and social welfare policies as they affect the development of Black people.
>
> A knowledge of human growth and development that views the behavior of Black individuals, families, and groups from a perspective that recognizes the oppression of Black people and evaluates behavior with regard to societal forces that depersonalize and reject Black people.3/

Other ethnic groups have also proposed developing an appreciation of their culture and value systems through re-education and training.

Alejandro Garcia, expressed the sentiments of a Chicano on this subject:

> The delivery of social services for the Chicano client must be redesigned and agencies must re-evaluate their present practices and directions. Agencies should encourage their professional staff to improve their awareness of the Chicano through staff development programs and continuing education courses, and they should reward those staff members who have made special efforts to maximize their potential for working with ethnic minorities...Practitioners, too, should demand that their agencies afford them the opportunity to improve their knowledge base to work with the Chicano.4/

The American Indian Task Force Report of the Council on Social Work Education stated similar goals with respect to educating social workers who will be working with American Indians:

> ...Information covering the American Indian's development, history, culture, and contributions to American life should be imparted to all students and faculty. Particular attention should be placed on the contemporary problems generated by the encroachment of white culture and values upon the Indian community.
>
> The Task Force recommends that closer relations should be developed between schools of social work and Indian people. Closer relations should be developed through the first hand factual knowledge gained in systematic and extended field trips by faculty members and graduate students to Indian reservations.5/

The Asian American Task Force made the following recommendations:

> Graduate schools of social work should require their students to take a course which analyzes institutional racism and involves the problems and needs of Asians and Asian Americans...
>
> ...graduate schools of social work in areas with large Asian communities should offer, to whites and non-whites, courses specifically related to Asian problems.... [All such courses] should have direct input from the Asian communities and should include Asians in the teaching process.6/

Both the Puerto Rican Task Force Report of the Council on Social Work Education and the New York Committee for the Care of Puerto Rican Children addressed this issue in their written reports. The New York Committee in its recommendations stated:

> ...Improved in-service training for professional and clerical staff to help them become familiar with the special needs and problems of the Puerto Rican child and community should receive top priority.
>
> ...All non-Spanish speaking personnel should be encouraged to learn the Spanish language to improve communication with Puerto Rican families.7/

FOOTNOTES FOR SECTION FIVE

1/ Billingsley and Giovannoni, op. cit., p. 187.

2/ Ibid., p. 218.

3/ Aracelis Francis, ed., Black Task Force Report. New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1973, p. 9-10

4/ Alejandro Garcia. "The Chicano and Social Work." La Causa Chicana: The Movement for Justice, Margaret M. Mangold, ed. New York: Family Service Association of America, 1972, p. 112.

5/ John Mackey, ed., American Indian Task Force Report. New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1973, p. 3-4.

6/ Murase, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

7/ New York Committee for the Care of Puerto Rican Children, op. cit., p. 4.

Section Six

PROGRAMMING FOR CULTURAL CONTENT

This Section deals with a major concern expressed earlier, the lack of recognition of different cultural patterns, needs and values. Suggestions are specific and in many instances reflect some innovative activities already under way.

"Black Practice" in Foster Care

Black professionals in the field are concerned with assuring that recognition is given to what has been termed "the Black experience" when services are developed for Black children. Some agencies which are predominantly staffed by Black people and which service principally or entirely a Black clientele, have reported developing a method of planning and implementing child welfare services which gives maximum recognition to the ethnicity of the Black child. This method has come to be known as "Black Practice." One such example is the Children's Service, Incorporated, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. In a written report of the program, "A Black Practice in Foster Care," Willie V. Small stated:

> Black Practice at CSI is a functional service with a psychoanalytic approach in the determination of the problem, and the development of problem solving strategies. The basic dichotomy is that in every experience of the Black child in foster care, white Racism is a major element in the content and process of that experience. We perceive paternalism as the most devious property of Racism because it negates the child's adequacy and entrenches a psychological dependency, whose malignancy gnaws its way through the self-image fibre of generations. Black Practice is an

> operational antidote to the destructive influences of Racism in the aspirations and development of the Black child in foster care. 1/

Many specific aspects of the Children's Service, Incorporated, program which give recognition to and pride in the cultural heritage of the clients are reported. For example, seminars are given for both foster parents and biological parents. Subjects such as "Black Manhood and Black Womanhood" focus on adequacy and survival of the Black family in America, and a study of "Experiences in African History and Culture" is presented by African citizens . . . 2/ It is noted that the Foster Parents Black History Seminar helps "to close the generation gap and provide an area of mutual interests outside of the placement process."3/

Because the staff at CSI is primarily interested in the maintenance of the Black community and the families which comprise it as vital and functioning units, a concerted effort is made to involve biological parents as fully as possible in all levels of the placement process and the administration of the program. For example:

> The language used in contacts with natural families conveys the real intent of the service. At CSI the traditional 'unwed mother' is a single parent; children born out of wedlock are children born 'to single parents'; a man and a woman 'living together' are a couple 'maintaining a household'. A 'paramour' is a 'male companion' deriving his title from his function. We make his presence credible so that the mother's guilt

is minimized and she and her companion are more accessible to the children and the agency. Stability of the relationship is the CSI concern.

. . . Natural families are invited to participate in the intake process, pre-placement and placement services.

. . . Visitation between children and natural families is unrestricted as to frequency and locality.

. . . Special permission is secured so that children who want to can visit prisons and mental institutions at the request of parents.

. . . Workers attend affairs sponsored by community groups to which natural families belong.

. . . Natural families write for the Social Work Handbook, serve on the staff of the Newsletter to Parents (foster and natural) and keep the agency family aware of "what's going down" in their families and neighborhood.

. . . Natural families share in graduation and other special achievements of their children, with financial and moral encouragement from the agency.

. . . Family strengthening experiences on occasion have included all members of the immediate family household, the natural parents, grandparents, cousins, aunts and uncles.

. . . At various points a full-time advanced practitioner carries a direct service assignment with natural families during post-placement, helping to secure services from community resources. The more success they experience the more confidently and discriminately they seek help. They come to accept their worth and right to services. 4/

The philosophy at CSI is that, "...whether or not they take their children back into the home, natural families matter as fellow human beings, as citizens in a mutual attitude of Black Nationhood."[5]

Day Care and Institutional Settings: Involvement of Parents

For the minority group child who may spend much of his time in group or family day care, or who lives in an institutional setting, it is important that the patterns of his home culture - i.e., foods, language, decor, and dance, as well as the values of his group, be reinforced by the child-caring program.

In the Day Care Guideline Number 2, published by the Office of Child Development, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the following guidelines were proposed concerning "Ethnic Relevance":

> Regardless of the locale or method of grouping in a center, the varying ethnic and cultural backgrounds of the families involved must receive the closest attention. Almost every group of children will represent several cultures and often several languages. Programs should incorporate and preserve elements which reflect those ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Parents should have the opportunity to select or approve of the ethnic content of a given program. In this way both parents and children identify with day care center activities.
>
> In those areas of the country where families use two languages . . . both languages should be used and the children's familiarity with both strengthened. . .

> A curriculum which values cultural differences should be a part of the child's program from infancy. In programs that involve only minority group children, bilingual, bicultural education must be an integral part of all daily activities. But in programs containing only a portion of children from a particular group, two arrangements might be made. An authority figure (probably a parent) from a minority group can be included in the program, and special curriculum components in the area of relevant language skills and cultural awareness can be used. 6/

Involvement of parents is seen as a necessary component if the program is to be culturally relevant. The The Office of Child Development has stated:

> Respect for the child's home should be expressed through positive caregiver-child-parent interaction. Parents should be involved at a policy level in all areas affecting the child's education; parents should be encouraged to share the child's experience in center activities. Caregivers should promote and support the concept of parents as authority figures; they should also make home visits when possible. 7/

Day care workers and planners on Indian reservations, in particular, have found that because of the life-style on the reservations mothers have much leisure time. This situation provides opportunity to extend center activities to parents, as well as to make use of their experience.

In her article "Day Care for Indian Children," Young Children, January, 1965, Jerdone stated:

> The situation on many reservations presents a special opportunity to extend day care program activities to parents. Many parents, especially mothers, may have considerable unplanned time. Their concern for their children would be an incentive for them to be closely involved in such a service.8/

Erma Clark noted a similar situation on the Ute Indian reservation. In an article entitled, "A Nursery School on the Ute Indian Reservation," Childhood Education, April, 1965, she wrote:

> Because our program was novel for Indians, mothers, grandmothers, sisters, and aunts came with the children. We finally had to have the Indian home agent come to the nursery and set up sewing and cooking classes to keep the extended family occupied while the children were in session. 9/

Interstate Research Associates suggested several methods which could be used to involve parents in Head Start programs for the Chicano child. These are relevant for most day care services for any group of clients, but are of special significance for minority children amd their parents:

1 Use parents as volunteers and develop a career ladder to move parents into job slots as vacancies occur,

2 Maintain constant contact with parents during the programmatic year, encouraging observational visits and parent input on direction in which the educational program should proceed,

3 Conduct classes in the child's home and utilize the parent and the home as an aid to education,

4 Hold regular sessions with parent groups to assist in developing a co-ordination of school or educational activities with the activities of the home.10/

This group of experts also suggests, as was noted in the Office of Child Development Guidelines, that the child-caring program be seen as an extension of the child's home. They state:

> . . . any program serving the Chicano child must be formulated as an extension of the home environment. The roles that different family members play in the family and the extended family concept held by the Chicano culture, must also be incorporated into the program. Programs, in short, must attempt to duplicate the home environment so that the Chicano child does not have culture shock upon entering the pre-school program.11/

There are many talents which parents have which can be utilized by centers to assure that programs are ethnically relevant, as well as to provide a way to involve parents meaningfully in center activities.

The approaches suggested by Interstate Research Associates included the following:

> A critical component of bilingual bicultural Head Start programs is the utilization of parent expertise on community projects and local center activities. . . .

> Areas of parental expertise which can be of value in teaching teachers and children the Hispanic culture are:
>
> Early childhood development
> Dancing talents
> Drama talents
> Role playing
> Art
> Special education
> Folklore tales
> Regional foods and their origin
> Local, cultural modes and their values 12/

Promotion of Pride in Ethnic and Racial Heritage

Regardless of the setting or type of child welfare service being provided, professionals and parent surrogates have the opportunity and the obligation to instill in the minority group child a pride in his ethnicity and his cultural heritage. In many ways adequate recognition of ethnicity in the initial stages of program planning and implementation will insure that programs are ethnically meaningful to the child. However, there is a more active role, above mere recognition, which can be taken to build ethnic pride as an important part of the child's ego development. In his paper, "A Black Practice in Foster Care," Small outlines what he feels a Black child-caring service must do to promote pride and a sense of ethnic identity in the Black child:

> . . . provide experiences which promote a healthy image, self-worth, self-pride, and self-confidence
>
> . . . incorporate opportunities to experience success and personal gratification in the exercise of self-determination.

> . . . stimulate positive identity with his neighborhood and the larger community, so that he feels he has a stake in their survival and improvement.13/

Similar steps have been outlined by Interstate Research Associates in its booklet, "Approaches for the Institutionalization of Bilingual Bicultural Head Start Programs Serving the Chicano Child." These are:

> The Chicano child must be taught in such a manner so that he may maintain and develop further the self-concept which he has. The teacher must recognize and be knowledgeable of the positive aspects of the Chicano child, of who he is and what he is.
>
> . . . The Chicano child is usually aware of his role within his family (both immediate and extended). He must also learn his role as a member of a culturally pluralistic society. The Chicano child should be helped to maintain his cultural heritage and to realize its value and contribution to the society. His identity must be maintained as a Chicano, rather than molded into an aspirant to the Anglo culture.14/

The specific things mentioned in this booklet to promote pride in the Chicano culture are program components which can be translated for application to any minority group child:

> . . . Provide for success of experience as a Chicano.
>
> Develop an awareness of Chicano culture as being a combination of the Indian Mexican Hispanic culture.
>
> Room environment should reflect Chicano as well as Anglo culture.

> Use of Chicano foods in the nutritional program.
>
> Use of songs, games, dances, fingerplays, stories, art activities, for both Chicano and Anglo cultures.
>
> /stress/ The contributions of the Indian-Mexican-Hispanic culture by pointing out geographic names with Hispanic roots, Spanish terms adopted by the English language, emphasis on local history, pointing out Hispanic architecture, and the celebration of ethnic holidays.. . . 15/

The Office of Child Development has made similar recommendations and has stated:

> In order to meet the special needs of ethnic groups, curriculum components should include the following areas:
>
> Self-identity: Children need to develop self-awareness and a positive self-image. It is recommended that there be more than one language used in the learning process; and that there be focus on the concept of skin color differences, and the use of bilingual songs, games, fingerplays, stories and games.
>
> For children who must fulfill multi-cultural roles a positive image of this should be envisaged by the caregiver and communicated to the child. Emphasis should be placed on the value of being multi-lingual and multi-cultural.
>
> Cultural Awareness: The child should identify with or relate to the two or more cultures of which he is a part. He should be educated to allow him to make maximum contribution to those cultures. Materials representing the culture should be a part of all programs dealing with minority children and room environments should reflect these cultures. The nutrition program should reflect a variety of representative foods and minority group holidays should be celebrated. 16/

FOOTNOTES FOR SECTION SIX

1/ Willie V. Small, "A Black Practice in Foster Care" unpublished paper presented at the Workshop: "Comprehensive Black Child Welfare" at the Fifth Annual Conference of the National Association of Black Social Workers in New York City on April 20, 1973, p. 4.

2/ Ibid., p. 22.

3/ Ibid., p. 24.

4/ Ibid., p. 25.

5/ Ibid.,

6/ Office of Child Development, op. cit., p. 25.

7/ Ibid., p. 26.

8/ Jerdone, op. cit., p. 151.

9/ Erma Clark, "A Nursery School on the Ute Indian Reservation," Childhood Education, 42:7 (April, 1965), p. 409.

10/ Interstate Research Associates, op. cit., p. 12.

11/ Ibid., p. 45.

12/ Ibid., p. 35.

13/ Small, op. cit., p. 10.

14/ Interstate Research Associates, op. cit., p. 42.

15/ Ibid.

16/ Office of Child Development, op. cit., p. 25.

Section Seven

DEVELOPMENT OF A MULTIETHNIC SERVICE SYSTEM

In their book, Children of the Storm, Billingsley and Giovannoni stated that practitioners in the child welfare field must:

> ...abandon the notion that a single, white-conceived, white-dominated, and white-administered system of child welfare, hampered as it is by racism, bureaucracy, professionalism, and sectarianism, can possibly meet the needs of all children of all races and subcultures. We need to adopt a pluralistic, multiethnic conception of child welfare services, and to develop deliberately and systematically different child welfare services that will explicitly consider these ethnic realities.[1/]

In this section three proposals suggested in the literature for making the multiethnic service system a reality will be presented: increased representation and input from ethnic minorities at all levels of service planning and delivery; changes in the legal basis as well as administrative regulations of existing programs to make them more responsive to the needs of ethnic minority children; and the creation of separate child-caring systems conceived and administered by the ethnic group for its own children.

Increased Minority Representation in the Planning and Delivery of Services

That ethnic minorities have been underrepresented in key planning, administrative and service positions in the past has been documented in the literature, especially within the last five years.

In July 1968, for example, the Child Welfare League of American undertook a study of the participation of ethnic minorities in agency administration. The League sent a questionnaire to 300 of its accredited, provisional, and general member agencies inquiring into this matter. The study findings were based on the complete and unambiguous responses of 225 agencies serving a total of 356,700 children, and revealed that:

> The staffing pattern of the public non-sectarian agencies and sectarian agencies follows roughly the picture of clientele, with non-white staff most often reported in public agencies and least often in sectarian agencies. A total of 54 agencies reported exclusively white staff - 3 public, 26 non-sectarian and 25 sectarian. The problem of attracting and holding non-white staff was a matter of comment by several agencies.
>
> Non-white staff are more likely than others to hold certain positions. Thus the proportion of non-whites was higher in the group work-recreation, residential child care, educational and teacher aide positions than in the administrative-supervisory and caseworker positions.
>
> Agency boards are less likely to be integrated than clientele or staff. However, a large majority of the reporting agencies (147 of the 231 that responded to this question) had at least some non-white board members. ...2/

Billingsley and Giovannoni note the lack of representation of Blacks on boards of agencies, even where Black children represent the largest segment of the client population:

> Black representation on boards of directors does make some slight inroads into the control of [child welfare]..agencies, although such representation of the Black community is not overwhelming. . ..The Boards of social agencies have traditionally been composed of wealthy white citizens who are hardly representative of a wide spectrum of the white community or of white clientele. This rather skewed representation of white people is seldom challenged. When it comes to choosing Black board members, however, social agencies bog down trying to decide "who represents the Black community?" Such a question has delayed and stymied many an attempt to increase Black representation on social agency boards. Concern about representativeness would certainly be alleviated by doubling or tripling Black membership, providing for input from a broad spectrum of the interests of the Black community.3/

American Indians have voiced a similar concern over their under-representation in the planning of programs for their people. In his article, "A White House Conference on the American Indian," Social Work, January, 1973, Charles E. Farris stated:

> The Indian tribes have never been involved in a significant or meaningful way in the development of programs for Indians. It is essential that any program reform should directly involve the Indian tribal groups and reflect tribal thinking and planning. For too long there have been too many bureaucratic chiefs and not enough blanket Indians involved in policy making. In addition, program planners have ignored the diversity and heterogeneity of the more than three hundred distinct Indian tribal cultures...Unless the programs are compatible with Indian tribal life, they are doomed to failure.4/

The recently issued American Indian Task Force Report of the Council on Social Work Education also advocated the use of Indian expertise at all levels in the implementation of programs for Indian people. The Task Force declared:

> ...there are very few Indian paraprofessionals working in American Indian organizations, or in any other social service agencies that service the American Indian population. It is imperative that the American Indian be thoroughly involved in any program seeking to develop solutions to American Indian problems. The Task Force would develop or encourage the development of training programs for paraprofessionals serving the American Indian.5/

In speaking of Indian representation in the Bureau of Indian Affairs under whose auspices many of the child welfare programs for Indian children are conducted, Herbert H. Locklear stated:

> Few Indian persons hold high administrative positions in the Bureau, probably less than twenty. The programs are primarily administered by persons of the white middle-class majority, some of whom accept as fact the myth that Indians do not want to work. Seemingly they assume that Indians do not want to take part in the program for lack of the necessary ability. They thus preclude the Indians active participation in the program's plans and operation and hinder his progress.6/

Interstate Research Associates stressed the importance of ethnic representation on the board and the staff in programs for Chicano children. They requested the following:

> That the Director be bilingual, bicultural Chicano,
>
> That the staff (professional, paraprofessional, and volunteer) be bilingual and bicultural,

> That the staff be recruited from the service area,
>
> That the staff be involved in other community efforts.[7]

In his article, "The Chicano and Social Work," Social Casework, May 1971, Alejandro Garcia outlines the advantages the Chicano social worker has in working with Chicano clients:

> Chicano social workers would be more effective in working with Chicano clients than would white social workers. Without having to cope with communication and cultural barriers, worker and client can begin to work almost immediately on the presenting problem.[8]

Puerto Rican professionals are also recommending that their numbers be increased on agency boards and agency staff. For example, the New York Committee for the Care of Puerto Rican Children, issued a position paper in which the following statement was made:

> As a general rule, agencies continue to exclude Puerto Ricans from key positions. There is little relationship between the overwhelming proportion of their Puerto Rican clientele and their Puerto Rican staff. The correction of this situation is a basic recommendation....
>
> The Puerto Rican population in New York is well over one million. Twenty-five percent of the 27,000 children in placement are Puerto Rican. Therefore, it is imperative that agency personnel be bilingual-bicultural.
>
> Puerto Ricans currently employed by child welfare agencies are at the clerical, custodial, and paraprofessional level. It is significant that less than 1 percent of the staff at the Bureau of Child Welfare - a mere 70 out of 2,000 - is Puerto Rican.

> A similar situation exists in private child-caring agencies. We support the recommendation made by the Child Welfare League in November 1972 regarding staffing of agencies and community participation by members of ethnic communities.9/

According to Emelicia Mizio, President of the Association of Puerto Rican Social Workers, even the few Puerto Rican social workers who are on agency staff perceive themselves as being treated unequally. In an article which appeared in Social Casework, entitled "Puerto Rican Social Workers and Racism," she noted:

> Puerto Ricans are not generally in the powerful prestigeous positions in the welfare hierarchy. It is time for a dialogue between Puerto Rican social workers and their fellow workers. Feelings are strong because Puerto Ricans feel themselves treated as third class professionals. The hierarchy is clearly white, black, and Puerto Rican....
>
> The concept of maximum feasible participation should not be limited to clients of the welfare system...Assuring meaningful representation to the members of minority groups is not only just, it is essential if we are to establish communication between whites and non-whites and thus expedite services....A welfare system dominated by the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant finds it difficult to respond to the needs of those it was established to serve, and cannot be attractive as a career to members of minority groups.10/

Underlying the demand for increased ethnic representation is the belief on the part of many minority group members that they are the only ones who can adequately assess their own needs. This position was taken by J. Julian Rivera in his article, "Growth of Puerto Rican Awareness," Social Casework, February, 1974. Rivera stated:

> In general terms, the goal of Puerto Rican leadership is to control, or have effective input in those programs that serve or should serve their communities. Such input should be present at all levels, from the planning stages to administration, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation. As long as the non-Puerto Rican agencies and organizations plan, fund, administer and implement programs and services intended to serve Puerto Ricans, those institutions deprive Puerto Ricans of the opportunity of developing expertise, establishing the necessary contacts with funding sources, acquiring positions of leadership, and, in all probability, receiving adequate service....
>
> The essential element in the Puerto Rican approach is the promulgation of the concept that Puerto Ricans are the only experts on Puerto Ricans. This message is being conveyed to funding sources as well as to the institutions that serve or should serve Puerto Ricans. Predictably, this stance brings Puerto Ricans in direct conflict with institutions and individuals who may honestly believe they can help and have helped Puerto Ricans. The enforcement of the stance has been manifested by boycott of services, public exposure, and, more recently, by legal action.11/

Asian Americans also express the sentiments already noted for the other groups. Pei-Ngor Chen, in writing of the Samoan American community in California, stated the need for bilingual bicultural Asian workers:

> ...in social service delivery, the most serious problem is the shortage of bilingual bicultural social workers. Coordination is needed to promote integrated delivery of services. Social workers in the larger community cannot adequately assist Samoans in need because of the communication barrier. Samoan immigrants are fearful and shy in seeking social services from people who cannot speak their language, and they are reluctant to go to available social agencies because they distrust the larger community.

> ...Bilingual bicultural social workers should be employed by existing agencies in the larger community so that the services these agencies provide to the Samoans may be relevant and meaningful.12/

Chen notes similar needs in the Chinese community:

> ...there are few Chinese speaking workers in public civil services and few bilingual social workers in private and public agencies. The writer has only been able to find one Chinese speaking psychiatrist in southern California....
>
> Most clients feel more at ease when they talk with a social worker who speaks the same dialect and who has the same cultural background as they. Therefore it is important for the social worker to be aware not only of the values and norms of the Chinese culture, but also of the fact that the personality of the client may be different from that of the Western client.13/

The need for bilingual bicultural staff was one of the issues addressed by the Asian American Task Force of the Council on Social Work Education which stated in its report:

> Individualized services within given helping situations are a prerequisite for effective services, and it is in this context that we must clearly see the need for training of bilingual and bicultural workers who can adapt or modify social work methods and techniques to work effectively with Asian American persons...it is essential to establish special local ethnic group-oriented

> agencies staffed with service personnel who share the same ethnic characteristics and have deep understanding and empathy. The workers should be trained to function competently within the network of the larger social and educational system.14/

Finally, the Task Force addressed the need for more meaningful input from the entire Asian American community at the policy-making level:

> The Asian American communities aspire to participate fully in the provision of social services and resources to solve social problems. Asian Americans demand to be included in the development of social service programs, in administering the resources mobilized, and in having a place in the policy making bodies to be heard and to influence policy decisions.15/

Legal and Administrative Changes

To facilitate basic changes in service delivery to meet the needs of minority children, several proposals have been made for revisions in the legal and adminis-

trative aspects of social services. A suit against the major child-caring agencies in New York City and their administrators, Wilder vs. Sugarman, brought as a class action on behalf of children in care by the New York Civil Liberties Union and the Legal Aid Society, serves to emphasize this point. In the suit, which is likely to have far reaching implications for the child welfare field, it is alleged that Black Protestant children are denied equal access to service because of New York City's reliance on the purchase of care from voluntary sectarian agencies. Attorneys for the plaintiffs have stated that such a pattern results in "a child-care system permeated by racial discrimination," as well as a lack of adequate services for those children most inneed of care.16/

The New York Committee for the Care of Puerto Rican Children also calls for legal changes as a basis for improved services, stating:

> A general overhaul of the legal provisions and the regulations of the State Board of Social Welfare is strongly recommended.
>
> The laws, regulations, guidelines and traditional practices governing agency operations are often antithetical to the real needs of Puerto Rican children. Many of these criteria were developed in another era with the needs of other children in mind.

> ...Cases in point are the high priority afforded religious background and the rules of the State Board on sleeping arrangements for children in foster care.
>
> We recommend that an official body, such as a commission composed of Puerto Rican religious and community leaders, be established to review thoroughly all laws and regulations related to the child welfare field.17/

The ways in which stated policies are implemented can also affect outcome. This is true in particular in regard to adoption.

Among the arguments against transracial adoption, for example, is the claim that child-caring resources could be found within the ethnic communities, if the effort were really made. Many agency rules and regulations which govern the selection of foster parents and adoptive parents thwart this effort because they establish unrealistic requirements in terms of the circumstances in which most non-whites live in this society.

In his book, The Strengths of Black Families, Robert Hill discussed the issue of adoption with respect to the enormous rate of absorption of dependent children by child caring resources within the Black community, and outside of the established child welfare system. He stated, with reference to his own studies:

> ...findings also strongly suggest that present placement policies and assumptions of most adoption agencies need to be radically

> overhauled. The disproportionate number of black children awaiting placement in these agencies is often attributed to reluctance or "apathy" of Blacks to adopt children, but this is not the case. Black families are already adopting to a very large degree.
>
> In fact, each year black families demonstrate their ability to "adopt" children with a placement rate more than ten times that of formal adoption agencies....Moreover data from recent studies suggest that black families are even formally adopting children at a greater rate than white families of comparable means....
>
> Placement regulations of formal adoption agencies would ordinarily prevent most of these families from formally adopting these children. They do not possess the "right" credentials - they are most often "fatherless" or "too poor" or "too disorganized." Since these families demonstrate a capacity to absorb these children each year, innovative placement procedures, such as income subsidies to poor families, should be widely expanded.[18]

The National Association of Black Social Workers has also expressed its concern over existing policies and procedures:

> Black families can be found when agencies alter their requirements, methods of approach, definitions of suitable family, and tackle the legal machinery to facilitate interstate placements....
>
> The extended family of grandparents, aunts, cousins, etc., may well be a viable resource if agencies will legitimize them; make them their area of initial exploration and work first to develop and cement their potential. This is valid and preferential even if financial assistance is necessary.

> We denounce the assertion that Blacks will not adopt, we affirm the fact that Black people in large number cannot maneuver the obstacle course of the traditional adoption process. This process has long been a screening out device. The emphasis on high income, educational achievement, residential status, and other accoutrements of the white middle-class style eliminates Black applicants by the score.19/

Many members of ethnic minority groups cannot comprehend the logic of a child welfare system which will pay a non-relative a board rate to keep a child, often at great expense to the State, but refuses to subsidize the natural parents or extended family members t\ provide care for their own children. The Indian editors of Akwesasne Notes have stated:

> Some communities are caught in such severe economic problems that virtually everyone must rely on welfare payments. Homes are not the most luxurious. Social workers have foster mothers in the suburbs that are just dying to have an Indian child"so their son will have someone to play with." Regulations do not allow foster care payments to relatives....but a white foster parent can collect a monthly check. And another Indian child loses his people.20/

There are many proposals in the literature for changes in policies and practices so that the needs of the minority children can be better served. One suggestion frequently made, and now in practice in some States, is to subsidize adoptive parents whose incomes would otherwise make them ineligible to adopt.

Billingsley and Giovannoni commented favorably on subsidized adoption, when they declared:

> Perhaps the most promising development in the late 1960's, and one intended primarily to benefit Black and other minority children, was subsidized adoption. Subsidized adoption is identical to all other adoptions in all ways except that the adoptive parents receive financial assistance toward maintenance of the child. It differs from long-term foster care or quasi-adoption in that the child is legally adopted....subsidized adoption offers a most concrete solution for black homeless children whose potential parents must be drawn in large part from among those who are economically unable to care for them ....subsidized adoption offers the promise of a redefinition of "potential adoptive parents" for Black children which can significantly increase the total pool of homes.21/

The National Association of Black Social Workers also supported this approach to providing care:

> Convert some of the child care agencies into extended family homes. This means that instead of paying $10,000 per child for institutional maintenance, the money will go directly to those people who wish to adopt children.
>
> For example, the average current financial cost for the operation of group homes with around eight children is $150,000 (most for agency staff, rent, equipment, etc.). Would it not be better for the child to be placed in a Black home and the money channeled to the adoptive parent for whatever is needed to sustain a decent standard of living?22/

One other alternative is that of quasi-adoption. Such a program was developed by the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania in 1964. In her article, "Permanent Placement of Negro Children Through Quasi-Adoption," Child Welfare (December, 1968), Roberta Andrews defined the quasi-adoption program:

> While based upon what is known about sound adoption practices, it has distinct differences. One of the major differences is that quasi-adoptive families need not commit themselves at the outset to legal adoption, although the agency from the beginning lays the groundwork for making this outcome a distinct possibility.
>
> If an applicant family appears to be able to provide a stable, healthy, loving environment for a child, it signs an agreement with the agency which sets forth certain conditions. These are that a weekly board payment and clothing and medical care can be provided, that casework interviews will be held at regular intervals, and that approximately every six months there will be a review with the family of its decision with respect to adoption.[23]

Jones has suggested that other possible solutions for Black youngsters are permanent foster care and small group care within the Black community. These approaches have particular relevance for the older child growing up in foster care. By small group care is meant no more than 6-8 youngsters in a house with professional house parents.[24]

Creation of Separate Systems

In Children of the Storm, Billingsley and Giovannoni express the need for the creation of separate child caring institutions designed and staffed by Black people to meet the needs of their children:

> However committed and professional the private white agencies may be, their major concern must still remain white children. However large the public agencies may be, their major concern must be for all the children in need, and they must operate within certain

> universalistic principles which are in the final analysis subject to the white majority. Clearly, the public agencies cannot have the flexibility and particularistic character needed to create new ways to serve Black children. There is, therefore, a crying need for specially Black-conceived, designed, managed, and staffed agencies to serve in a specific way the needs of the Black children in the context of Black families and the Black community. ...The important thing about these agencies—the thing which makes them Black--is that the community would conceive them, design them, and make the important policy decisions about their structure, functions, staff, and services to children.[25]

In their article, "Some Opinions on Finding Homes for Black Children," Children (July/August, 1971), Herzog, Sudia, and Harwood noted responses from the experience survey which they conducted on the search for adoptive families for Black children. The findings indicated that some Black professionals have given considerable thought to the creation of separate black child welfare agencies:

> Some suggestions were offered to counteract "institutional racism." A few recommended wholly Black staffs and boards, since White social workers are, "not used to Black people." As one respondent noted, 'I think there has to be some exploration of all Black agencies. We have to be in a position to set up our own definitions and criteria. Often this amounts to a totally different definition of the family and the environment.'[26]

Thomas C. Atencio in an article entitled "The Survival of La Raza Despite Social Services," Social Casework, May, 1971, expresses his point of view which is that attempts to make existing social service institutions more responsive to the ethnicity and special needs of the

minority client have largely failed, and ultimately separate ethnic institutions may have to be established:

> ...To this date the Chicano nation still depends on the health, welfare, and educational institutions of this society. Nevertheless, despite our being subject to them, we have not received our due in relation to our culture or life-style, and many conditions—that is, conformity with the agenda of the dominant structure - preclude our using any service.
>
> We therefore have two clear alternatives in dealing with these institutions: (1) change them so they can better serve La Raza or (2) develop parallel systems and establish total independence. Clearly the latter is the ideal situation because previous attempts at reform have failed. Nevertheless, the former is the one that most of us would desire to try first.[27]

In an article about the founding and development of the Puerto Rican Family Institute in New York City, entitled "The Struggle to Develop Self-Help Institutions," Social Casework, February, 1974, Augustin Gonzalez stated his belief that Puerto Ricans must develop their own institutions if their problems are to be solved. He said:

> In 1961, equipped with an M.S.W. and much concern about the problems faced by the Puerto Rican on the mainland, I came to the conclusion that it should be up to us as Puerto Ricans to develop our own institutions. Otherwise, we would continue to be at the bottom of the ladder, without the proper services to the individual or to the community as a whole.[28]

Two main reasons have been expressed as rationale for the creation of separate agencies or service systems. One is to counteract the institutionalized racism in the general service system. The other is to allow for maximum recognition of ethnic values and group-related needs.

The Asian American Task Force Report of the Council on Social Work Education, in a "Problems and Needs Perspective," has differentiated between common problems and needs that Asian Americans share with the general population, and those that require ethnic - specific perspectives. To meet the needs a proposed "consortium-satellite" concept is suggested, with a central apparatus for programming and a satellite as a direct service agency. They stated:

> The satellite concept is based on the premise that each Asian ethnic group determines its own service requirements and specialized needs. Each of the Asian communities must determine and assess its priorities in terms of service requirements. Each of the communities differs socio-logically, economically, geophysically, and geopolitically. While each community shares common educational, employment, housing, health and welfare needs, there also exists specialized needs for mental health services, employment services, health services, welfare services, and the like.29/

FOOTNOTES FOR SECTION SEVEN

1/ Billingsley and Giovannoni, op. cit., p. 221.

2/ Lucille J. Grow and Ann W. Shyne, "Participation of Ethnic Minorities in Service Administration," New York: Child Welfare League of America (February, 1968) (Mimeographed.) p. ~~1~~ 3-4 182 -

3/ Billingsley and Giovannoni, op. cit., p. 183.

4/ Farris, op. cit., p. 83.

5/ Mackey, op. cit., p. 5.

6/ Locklear, op. cit., p. 75.

7/ Interstate Research Associates, op. cit., p. 23.

8/ Garcia, op. cit., p. 277.

9/ New York Committee for the Care of Puerto Rican Children, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

10/ Emelicia Mizio, "Puerto Rican Social Workers and Racism," Social Casework,53:5 (May, 1972), pp. 267-272.

11/ J. Julian Rivera, "Growth of Puerto Rican Awareness," Social Casework, 55:2 (February, 1974), p. 88.

12/ Chen, "Samoans in California," op. cit., pp. 41-48.

13/ Chen, "The Chinese Community in Los Angeles," op. cit., pp. 595-596.

14/ Murase, op. cit., p. 14.

15/ Ibid.

16/ Wilder vs. Sugarman, legal brief submitted by Marcia Lowry and Risa Dickstein, Attorneys for the Plaintiffs, Children's Rights Project, New York Civil Liberties Union and Charles Schinitsky, Attorney for the Plaintiff, Legal Aid Society, Brooklyn, New York.

17/ New York Committee for the Care of Puerto Rican Children, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

18/ Robert Hill. Strengths of Black Families: A National Urban League Research Study, New York: Emerson Hall, Inc., 1971, pp. 7-8.

19/ National Association of Black Social Workers, op. cit.

20/ Akwesasne Notes (Spring, 1972), op. cit., p. 5.

21/ Billingsley and Giovannoni, op. cit., pp. 199-~~200.~~ 201

22/ National Association of Black Social Workers, op. cit.

23/ Roberta Andrews, "Permanent Placement of Negro Children Through Quasi-Adoption," Child Welfare, 47:10 (December, 1968), p. 584.

24/ Jones, op. cit., p. 162.

25/ Billingsley and Giovannoni, op. cit., p. 228.

26/ Elizabeth Herzog, Cecilia Sudia, and Jane Harwood, "Some Opinions on Finding Families for Black Children," Children, 18:4 (July/August, 1971) p. 144.

27/ Thomas C. Atencio, "Survial of La Raza Despite Social Services," Social Casework, 52:5 (May, 1971), p. 266.

28/ Augustin Gonzales, "The Struggle to Develop Self-Help Institutions," Social Casework, 55:2 (February, 1974), pp. 90-91.

29/ Murase, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

SUMMARY

This review of issues and proposals has quoted extensively from the literature, using the references as a data source from which to draw findings. The findings are varied, but support the following conclusions:

1. There has been, especially in the last four years, a burgeoning literature on ethnicity and social welfare. The raising of key issues is no longer the sole province of politicians and community leaders - professional social workers of all minority groups are being heard on the subject of service delivery. This move to professional literature has not diluted the issues, but rather strengthens the presentations, since the trained worker of the minority group not only expresses the ethnic point of view, but can also bring the educational background and work experience to bear to measure the need, diagnose, treat, and evaluate the service system.

2. The study hypothesis, that there will be commonalities in problems among the groups, is well supported in the literature. For each of the four major concerns identified; prevalence of myths and

stereotypes, lack of appreciation of cultural patterns, lack of recognition of bilingualism, and threats to group survival, ample citations were found from the literature of all four groups. There were also many common expressions in proposals for change. Proposals for re-education, training and programming of cultural materials were also generally expressed, as were suggestions for a multiethnic service system.

3. Given the extent of the literature, the growing professionalization in presentation of issues, and the multiplicity of proposals, it is apparent that a new area for social work concerns is emerging. The "state of the art," at present, is that many important but untried and untested proposals are before us. This is a propitious time for systematic study. Appropriate recognition of ethnic factors in child welfare should have measurable effects in meeting client, staff, and community needs. The next phase of study, beyond delineation of programs, is testing of outcomes.